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THE LIFE OF ROBERT Lord CLIVE BARON PLASSEY.

Literary Society of Bombay

THE

LIFE

OF

ROBERT Lord CLIVE,

BARON PLASSEY.

WHEREIN

Are Impartially delineated his Military Talents in the Field; his Maxims of Government in the Cabinet, during the two last Wars in the EAST INDIES,

Which made him ARBITER of EMPIRE, and the richest Subject in EUROPE.

WITH

ANECDOTES of his PRIVATE LIFE,

AND THE

PARTICULAR CIRCUMSTANCES of his DEATH.

Also a NARRATIVE of all the last TRANSACTIONS in INDIA.

By CHARLES CARACCIOLI, Gent.

VOL. II.

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THE

LIFE

OF

LORD CLIVE, BARON PLASSEY.

BUT ſo univerſal was the diſlike of the natives and Engliſh to his lordſhip, and ſo unconquerable was the averſion of ſome of them, that there are ſeveral inſtances of both white and black women in Bengal, who rejected his offers with diſdain, and expoſed him to the ridicule of the world, inſtead of becoming proſtitutes to his wealth and power.

The following anecdotes will evince this verity.

When lord Clive went up the country to ſettle matters with Sujah al Dowlah and other Indian powers; doctor —— his lordſhip's phyſician, and pimp in ordinary, has his commiſſion enlarged to ſuperintend his patron's pleaſures during his progreſs. Lord Clive having ſeen by chance a beautiful

beautiful black girl, miſtreſs to doctor Knight, a phyſician in the company's ſervice; was ſtruck with her bewitching charms, and thought her ſituation in life was a favourable omen for his deſires. Doctor ——— received directions, in conſequence of this diſcovery, to employ all the arts of negociation, and to exert all the ſkill he had ſhewn in this inglorious department, to have a conference, with the black object of lord Clive's amours and impatient deſires. The expert mercury, proud of this truſty office, took the firſt opportunity, which the abſence of his brother in the eſculapian myſteries gave him, to ſound the heart of the artleſs girl. In caſe of compliance ——— was directed to deſire her to mention her own terms. But the generous faithful girl, who ſincerely loved her friend and benefactor, rejected the doctor's offers, tempting as they were, in a manner that would reflect honour on a woman ſentimental and civilized; and afterwards revealed to the man ſhe unfeignedly loved, doctor ———'s commiſſion and character. This official conduct of Dr. ——— might have ſtopped him in his carreer, had he not left his maſter to ſhift for himſelf on the occaſion. Mr. Knight though low in the ſervice, was a man eſteemed and beloved, and ſhewed on this occaſion a proper ſpirit and reſentment. He declared to Mr. —— that if ever he preſumed to pay a ſecond viſit to his apartments on the ſame errand, he would cane him according to his deſerts, not as a brother doctor, but in his capacity as a pimp and a vile ſeducer; and that if his lordſhip was to come himſelf in perſon, to offer him an inſult ſo repugnant to his honour, he would treat him as

his

his contemptible agent. Lord Clive, arbitrary as he was, ſuſpended ——— in his executive powers, and did not think proper to renew this perilous attack.

Lord Clive on his return to Calcutta renewed the commiſſion of Mr. ——— recommending to his honourable agent to look for ſome belle whom they might approach with ſafety, from the reſentment of a ſuſpicious lover. Accordingly, Mrs. ——— was the object of Mr. ——— inquiries, and of the choice of his noble patron. This amiable lady was at the age of ſixteen, widow of a captain lieutenant of artillery in the ſervice of the company; her youth, her charms, and her virtue, ſhould have inſpired no other ſentiments in a liberal breaſt, but generoſity, true love, and reſpect. Her ſituation and circumſtances made Mr. —— confident of ſucceſs, and he thought he ſhould ſoon triumph at her ſcruples and delicacy, as Mrs. ——— had no other connection in the ſettlement than a mother in years, who could ſcarcely protect her under the ſame roof, and her income was almoſt confined to the penſion of widows according to the rank of their huſbands in the ſervice. This lady ſingled out for diſgrace and infamy, was honoured unexpectedly with complimentary cards of invitation from lord Clive at all balls and concerts, public or private. She did not at firſt miſtruſt this attention, nor even the obſequious attention of doctor ——— till ſhe was invited in the moſt tender, though reſpectful expreſſions to a private ball at his lordſhip's houſe. She thought his ſtation and his civility could not permit her to refuſe to comply with this new mark

of

of attention, and in the courſe of the dances, Dr. ——— whiſpered to her that he had ſomething particular to ſay to her; and led her to a remote corner of the room; where with an effrontery equal to his depravity, he told her that lord Clive had deſired him to ſhew her a great curioſity, which was in his lordſhip's bedchamber, and was taking her by the hand in order to conduct her to the place deſigned for her diſhonour; when recovering from her ſurprize, and the ſilent indignation this inſult had created in her mind, ſhe upbraided the doctor for his injurious credulity, and ſhewed the contempt ſhe had for his lordſhip and his pimp, by calling for her palankeen and walking inſtantly out of the room; ſhe never afterwards entered the houſe of lord Clive, nor would be ſeen in his company, or that of his unſucceſsful agent, who from that time acted with more caution and leſs impudence.

I am happy that I have it in my power to convince my readers, above contradiction of the information I had received in reſpect to the troops under major Carnac. They thought their general had received from the board at Calcutta diſcretionary orders, as mentioned by me in page 401, as will appear by the following letter.

To major Carnac. March 12, 1764.

"We obſerve from your letters as well as thoſe from captain Jennings and captain Stables, the reaſon that there is to ſuſpect that Sujah al Dowlah will either come himſelf or favour an invaſion into Bahar. If thoſe advices ſhould prove to have founda-

foundation, we think it will be more adviſeable to carry the war into Sujah Dowlah's own country, than to wait his entering the province. Immediately therefore, upon ſuch confirmation being received, if you think you can depend on the diſpoſition and affection of the troops, we deſire you will march the army acroſs the Caramnaſſa, and proceed to act offenſively againſt the enemy to the beſt advantage. In the mean time, we ſhall hold a further reinforcement in readineſs, conſiſting of the detachment of the 84th regiment, the marines of the ſquadron and a party of the artillery, which will make in all about 200 men, with two pieces of cannon to march and join you whenever it ſhall be judged neceſſary."

In conſequence of this letter, major Carnac on the 23d of March ordered a bridge to be conſtructed over the Caramnaſſa with the view of marching to attack the enemy. This reſolution was dropped as ſoon as taken, and a ſhameful retreat was the conſequence of this faint motion.

I have already taken notice of the major in the impetuoſity of his courage, marching to meet the enemy, and to offer them battle. It appears to have been in conſequence of the following letter from the board.

To Major Carnac. 24th March, 1764.

We have paid due regard to the reaſons which you urge in your letter for having continued to act ſo long upon the defenſive; but we muſt ſay, that they do not carry the ſame weight with us.

"With regard to the nabob he cannot poſſibly expect, nor can our whole army ever be allowed to remain in a ſtate of inaction merely to protect his perſon, eſpecially when it is conſidered that this end may be as effectually ſecured by his returning into Patna. On this ſtep therefore he muſt immediately determine, unleſs he ſhould rather reſolve to accompany our army and take an equal chance with them in attacking the enemy."

When the major marched from Dynapporon the 18th of April, he had with him two battalions of ſeapoys, beſides his body guard, which conſiſted of a troop of black cavalry about 100 men, and a European troop of about 50 men, under the command of captain George Hay.

The major marched in front as mentioned in page 405, but went much farther than uſual; and when breakfaſt was over, on the ſecond day's march, cards, the favourite amuſement of the commander, when in the field, were introduced according to cuſtom; but they were ſoon interrupted by an advanced party of the enemy, who came to play another game. The major and his field officers on the alarm ran out of the tent, putting their cards in their pockets, that they might play the game out when they returned. The firſt thing which preſented itſelf to the view of the major and his officers, was the enemy to the number of between three or four hundred driving our cavalry before them. It was a fortunate incident to the major and thoſe of his guard, that the enemy left off their purſuit on ſeeing the ſeapoys betake themſelves to their arms; for had they puſhed on, they muſt have cut to pieces or taken priſoners

ers the major and all his detachment, and gained a complete victory before they were joined by their companions, who were to the number of ſeveral thouſands a little way off. We had a few men killed and wounded, nor did the enemy get off ſcot-free. We appeal to military men, who, we preſume will allow, that it is a duty highly incumbent on every general who commands an army, to be well informed of what paſſes in the enemy's camp; for upon this greatly depends the ſafety of an army. What muſt we think of, an Engliſh commander who allows himſelf to be ſurpriſed by a black army, whoſe manoeuvres are as conſpicuous as the ſun at noon day.

This is the firſt information the major had of the enemy having croſſed the Soan, which they did at Dowdnagur, the place to which the major was in full march to oppoſe them. It is well known that all ſtates whatever, who have armies in the field, chearfully reimburſe their general any expence he may be at for good intelligence; and it is alſo well known to many officers who were under the command of major Carnac, that the expence the company were put to at this very time for intelligence, was great. Mr. Swinton who had charge of the harcarrahs, or ſpies, knows this to be a fact; and a retroſpect view of the company's books for theſe months of
will prove it.

Tho' the major ſeemed to laugh at the inglorious circumſtance of having being thus ſurpriſed, yet his vanity was hurt, and he thought his honour was concerned in retaliating this inſult: a ſcheme was therefore laid to draw this advanced party of the

the enemy into a ſnare the next morning, and take ſatisfaction for the affront they had put upon him.

The cavalry under the command of captain Hay, was early in the morning to beat up the enemy's quarters, a ſham fight was to enſue, when our people were to retreat to a certain tope where a few company's of ſeapoys were to be placed in ambuſcade to receive the enemy.

The unexpected firing from the muſketry of our infantry, was of courſe to throw the enemy into confuſion. Our cavalry who were to open to the right and left to make way for the ſea-poys, were then to charge the enemy upon their flanks, which was ſuppoſed they could do with great advantage. Agreeable to this plan, captain Hay, with the cavalry went out early in the morning attacked the enemy, and as their numbers encreaſed our people retreated to the tope where the ſea-poys were ſuppoſed to be, but there were none found there to ſupport our cavalry, which obliged captain Hay, lieutenants Mair and Eyres, and the other officers to exert their utmoſt abilities, to make good their retreat; which they with ſome difficulty did to the head quarters.

This entraping ſcheme was planed early on the evening before, and when the major had ſufficiently amuſed himſelf with the general entertainment of the day, and was retiring to reſt, he told the ſeapoy officer, that no, no, he would not ſend them, and immediately after went to bed, and neglected to inform captain Hay, of the cavalry, that he had laid aſide his ſcheme.

In our forced march to Patna, page 406. We muſt not forget to mention a circumſtance which will

will ſhew the little regard and attention major Carnac paid to the officers and ſoldiers he had the honour to command; ſome coſſes, before he came to Meer Abſel's gardens, he halted his army at a tank in the middle of a plain, where no tree from ſhelter from the burning heat of the ſun was to be found. The major with the greateſt indifference pitched his tent, and regaled himſelf and family with a cold colation and ſomething comfortable to drink, while officers and ſoldiers were left broiling in the ſun, in a moſt ſultry day, on the 25th of April; and tho' they could get nothing to eat, yet they could quench their thirſt, and waſh the duſt from their ſweaty brows with the dirty water of the tank which was in a moment a thick from offenſive mud the number of animals of the human and brute ſpecies going into it. However, our halting had this good effect with it, that the enemy who harraſſed our rear during all the march, imagined we intended to encamp here, retired; no doubt as much fatigued as ourſelves; we were therefore allowed to proceed the reſt of the march unmoleſted. At the end of Pulwara-plain, there is a large tank with remarkable high banks; here the major once thought of taking poſt; accordingly artillery officers with all the bildars were ſent to cut and level the inſide of the banks, to make a platform for our guns. This reſolution laſted but for a few hours, we were then drawn up as already deſcribed in page 406.

We beg leave to take notice that when the enemy began to retire from before our trenches, the third of May, page 407. Major Stibbert marched out in purſuit of them with the troops of his poſt, joined

joined by captain Wildings battalion, and captain Smith with the body of reſerve, lieutenant Nicol, who had diſlodged the enemy from the Moſque, page 407, was afterwards re-inforced with two companies of ſea-poys under the command of lieutenant Davidſon, and when major Stibbert in ſo ſpirited a manner formed the reſolution of taking the enemy's cannon, lieutenant Nicol and Davidſon, who were a good diſtance to his right looked upon two pieces of cannon, which were not a great way before them as their prey. Thus when theſe troops were marching on with the greateſt eagerneſs and reſolution to poſſeſs themſelves of the enemy's cannon, a poſitive order came from our commander in chief, major Carnac, to major Stibbert, to leave off the purſuit, and another in conſequence was ſent to lieutenant Nicol to return; we have only to obſerve, that the troops were greatly chagrined at the orders of their general, their hopes were diſappointed, their ſpirits were depreſſed, on being obliged to return from the purſuit of an enemy, who had inſulted them for ſome time paſt; they were thus prevented from making themſelves maſters of the enemy's cannon, and taking ſatisfaction for their provocations, and giving them a complete over-throw for their temerity.

We have already taken notice of the major's remaining upwards of a month in his trenches inactive, after the enemy had retired from him twelve or fourteen coſs; and that he detached major Champion, page 407 laſt paragraph. How far this inactivity and proceedings agreed with the ſenſe of the governor and council at Calcutta, will

be

be beſt known to my readers by giving a copy of their letter to him.

To Major Carnac, 29th May 1764.

" The meaſure of croſſing over the river with part of the army and carrying the war into Sujah Dowlah's country was only an alternative propoſed on the ſuppoſition that it would not be in your power to bring the enemy to action. This is far from being the caſe at preſent, the enemy having for ſome time paſt kept our army in a manner inveſted, and we would therefore by no means recommend that meaſure now unfit, you have firſt brought them to action on this ſide and defeated them; and then of courſe you are to purſue them and proſecute the rear in the moſt advantageous manner.

" We have now repeatedly given you our opinion for attacking the enemy; but if you really think this meaſure impracticable, we deſire you will acquaint us fully with your reaſons and what plan you would propoſe for bringing the war to an iſſue. And we muſt beg you will be very particular in every circumſtance that we may be enabled to form a proper judgment and co-operate with you to the utmoſt of our power."

I am happy to find that the opinion of ſo reſpectable a body of men as the authors of the above letter ſhould coincide with my own as expreſſed in page 408.

I am now come to the letter which the major receiving from the board, and which I call a poſitive order to attack the enemy; and ſhall leave it

to

to the determination of military men what the conſequence would have been to any general in Europe, to have diſobeyed ſuch an order.

To major Carnac. 11th June, 1764.

"As we are determined to proſecute the war againſt Sujah Dowlah, and are of opinion that the rains will not be any impediment to the operations; but on the contrary, with regard to receiving proviſions and ſtores, rather a convenience from the advantage of the rivers. We hereby direct you do immediately put the army in motion, leaving the neceſſary garriſons in Patna and Monghier, and croſs the loan and purſue the enemy as far as the Ganges oppoſite to Banaraſs, endeavouring, if poſſible, to bring them to an action."

The reaſon that appear upon the face of the letter for attacking the enemy, is ſo obvious that it requires no expoſition. I ſhall therefore only enlarge upon the reaſon in the letter for the ſake of my readers, who are not acquainted with India; and can ſpeak confidently from the local knowledge of my correſpondents.

Bengal is a remarkable flat country and from the number of its rivers a great part of the country at one time, or other of the rainy ſeaſon, is entirely overflowed: it is therefore evident that horſe cannot act, and as two thirds of Sujah Dowlah's army conſiſted of horſe, this made our army comparatively ſpeaking, much ſtronger, and we had alſo this advantage of obliging them in a manner to fight upon an equal footing, from the country being divided by rivers and ſwamps, the fields for action were

were contracted ſo, that we could draw them into that ſituation where our front might extend as far as theirs; beſides the advantage of our artillery being better mounted, we could march with it, where the enemy would be obliged to leave their heavy, clumſy mounted cannon behind.

Theſe reaſons, weighty as they are, and well known to major Carnac, could not ſtimulate him to action: on the contrary, "he ordered the Bombay detachment to their cantonments the 17th of June."

The major's orders to march and attack the enemy, were confirmed by the following letter.

To Major Carnac. 14th June, 1764.

"We have received your letter of the 5th inſtant, we think it abſolutely neceſſary to proceed againſt Sujah al Dowlah without loſs of time, nor ſtop till we have convinced him that we are capable of acting offenſively as well as defenſively; otherwiſe we ſhall without doubt be liable to have the province invaded whenever the ſtate of affairs in his own country will admit of his turning his thoughts this way. We muſt therefore (with the exception hereafter mentioned) repeat our orders of the 11th inſtant for the army's croſſing the Soan without delay: and we have great reaſon to believe that the plan therein laid down will be rendered more effectual by the attacks which it is probable Sujah al Dowlah will receive from Gazy Odeen Khawn, the Jauts and the Marattas, who are reported to be actually on their march to invade his country.

" We always have been of opinion, and ſhall continue to think that the force under your command is quite ſufficient to act offenſively againſt Sujah Dowlah; and yourſelf was of the ſame opinion in your letter of the 17th of April, which was ſome time after the mutiny, and before you was joined by captain Wemyſſe's detachment. We muſt alſo here repeat our ſentiments, that a ſpirit of mutiny is much more likely to break out in an army acting upon a defenſive, than an offenſive plan. However, as you mention, that the principal officers have all along agreed with you in the expediencies of acting defenſively, we deſire you will now communicate our orders of the 11th of June, and this letter to the other field officers, the commandants of the king's troops, of the Bombay detachment, and of the artillery and the three ſenior captains, which with your own, is in all nine voices, and let them give their opinions in writing ſeperately; whether they think our plan practicable with the force at preſent, under your command? if not, what addition of troops will be requiſite, that we may do our utmoſt to reinforce you accordingly. It is abſolutely requiſite for the reaſons above-mentioned, to act upon the offenſive.

" Theſe opinions, after taking a copy, you will pleaſe to tranſmit immediately to ———, and if two-thirds of your opinions ſhould concur, that the preſent force is inſufficient for executing the plan propoſed, we would not have the army advance further than the banks of the Soan, until the reinforcement arrive; and we deſire you will in ſuch caſe, caution major Champion not to advance ſo

far

far as to be compelled to engage with a force too ſuperior to his own."

It was in conſequence of this letter that the major ordered the army to hold themſelves in readineſs to march as mentioned in the beginning of page 409.

This laſt letter ſhews the opinion the board at Calcutta entertained of major Carnac's conduct and judgment; they were ſenſible of the contempt the company's troops muſt have been held under their timid and irreſolute commander, by Sujah al Dowlah, who, as they had foreſeen, conceived projects of invaſion into their territories, after the unſkilful marches and countermarches of this inglorious campaign. It was thought high time to appoint a number of officers to conſtitute a council of war, on whoſe opinion they might rely in future, in regard to military operations, as they could not account for this defenſive procraſtination, which betrayed the fears and miſconduct of moſt of the field officers.

Several perſons to whom we owe a particular regard and attention, having deſired the editor of this work to inform them with the ground on which two gentlemen, who lately appealed to the houſe of lords, for permiſſion to have their cauſe tried in the court of Common-pleas, and the commiſſion iſſued out in conſequence from the court of Chancery, to examine witneſſes in India relative to the accuſation of falſe impriſonment, and other injuries the appellants complained to have received from Mr. Vereliſt, when preſident and governor of Calcutta: we inſert here at their requeſt, a true narrative of the caſes of Mr. James Nicol and Mr. Thomas Davie, the plaintiffs in queſtion; to which we

ſhall

ſhall join the caſe of the two injured Armenians, who have lately applied for juſtice in England, and after having gained their cauſe, are obliged to wait for the event of a new tryal.

Mr. James Nicol, formerly an officer of ſingular merit, in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, reſigned the ſervice by permiſſion of his ſuperiors, who accepted his reſignation ſome time in May 1766.

He reſided afterwards in different parts of Bengal, as a private merchant; and in December 1766, went into the country of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, to ſettle there as a merchant, and recover his debts; having firſt received the particular permiſſion of that prince, who had contracted a friendſhip for him during his military ſervice.

On the 27th December 1766, colonel Richard Smith being arrived at Banaras, a city in the dominions of that Nabob, 600 miles from Calcutta, where Mr. Nicol then was, he ſent Mr. Nicol a peremptory order by one lieutenant Dalafield to leave Banaras in twenty-four hours, on which Mr. Nicol wrote the following letter:

"To colonel Richard Smith.

"SIR,

"I am informed by Mr. Dalafield, that it is your intention I ſhall not remain in this city. I beg leave, Sir, to repreſent to you, that the reaſon of my coming up the country is to collect in ſome money which I have out at intereſt, and which without my preſence will not be paid. It will be a great detriment to me, if I am prevented from ſo doing, and very likely prove the loſs of a great

part

part. I perſuade myſelf, Sir, it is not your intention to prejudice me in the ſmall fortune I have got during ſeven years abode in India; and that you will not obſtruct me in proſecution of my plan, of which I have general Carnac's tacit approbation. I have the honour to be,

"SIR,

"Your moſt obedient

Banaras, 27th Dec. 1766. "and moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) James Nicol."

On receipt of this, the colonel was graciouſly pleaſed to indulge Mr. Nicol with a longer time, and ſent captain Gabriel Harper to acquaint him, he might ſtay forty-eight hours longer; but if he did not then go, force afterwards would be uſed.

Mr. Nicol accordingly quitted Banaras, and went upon his buſineſs into other parts of the country belonging to Sujah al Dowlah; and particularly to Fyſabad, where the Nabob reſided, having repeatedly received permiſſion, in letters from that prince, to ſettle there as a merchant.

After being ſome months ſettled there, upon finding that Sir Robert Barker had received orders from Calcutta to ſeize and ſend him down, Mr. Nicol waited upon the nabob at his palace at Fyſabad, who there ſhewed him a letter from governor Verelſt, informing the nabob, that Mr. Nicol being no ſervant of the company's, muſt be ſent home to England, therefore deſiring the nabob would permit the company's troops to take him priſoner.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the uneaſineſs which this demand gave the nabob, who obſerved to Mr. Nicol.

Nicol, " that it made him appear ſmall and contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, and ſerved to weaken their allegiance." Applications however continued to be made with the greateſt importunity to the nabob; and at laſt, without his conſent, captain Hill ſent two parties of ſeapoys to ſurround a gentleman's houſe, in which Mr. Nicol reſided. Mr. Nicol, who knew ſuch proceedings gave the nabob great uneaſineſs, and foreſaw they might occaſion ill uſage to himſelf, ſent to inform the nabob, that he was reſolved to go immediately to Sir Robert Barker, who commanded the brigade, then at Illahabad. The nabob, as a proof of his conſent to Mr. Nicol's reſiding at Fyſabad, and in order, if poſſible, to wipe off the ſtain which this proceeding had thrown on his government in the eyes of his ſubjects, immediately reſolved to go himſelf to Illahabad, and endeavour to obtain leave from Sir Robert Barker for Mr. Nicol to remain in the dominions he appears to govern; and he accordingly very publicly accompanied Mr. Nicol to Illahabad, which is about ninety miles from his own court.

The nabob failed in his application; and Sir Robert Barker acquainted Mr. Nicol, that having received an order from the governor and council of Calcutta for that purpoſe, he ſhould ſend him down thither within three days under a guard.

Upon this the nabob wrote a letter, dated the 12th March 1767, to governor Verelſt, from which the following is an extract: " the affair of captain Nicol is this: when he was ſtationed with me," (in his military capacity) " I entertained an attachment to him, and was well ſatisfied with his beha-

behaviour. General Carnac alſo recommended him in the ſtrongeſt manner to me. He came to Gorrockpore to collect money which he had lent to Fazel Ally Khawn; from thence he came to ſee me, and requeſted a perwannah for carrying on trade. Out of regard to general Carnac's recommendation, and for the friendſhip I formerly bore him, I iſſued an order permitting him to trade, and I appointed a houſe for his reſidence: at which time I received letters from you and colonel Sir Robert Barker, acquainting me Mr. Nicol is no ſervant of the company's, nor have any orders been received from them for his ſtaying in Hidoſtan, and that you ſhould ſend him to Europe.

"As there is no difference between us, and I never can deviate from your order, but wiſh to obey the company in preference to any chiefs whatever, I went to colonel Barker at Illahabad, carrying captain Nicol with me, whom I gave up to colonel Barker, and he is now on his way to you. Out of regard to our friendſhip, it is proper that, for my ſatisfaction, you ſuffer this gentleman to remain two or three years in Calcutta, and grant him a licence for carrying on trade, that by means thereof he may acquire ſome money, when he will go to Europe. And without doubt, out of the ſtrict friendſhip between you and me, you will act accordingly as I have written, and keep him in Calcutta, becauſe I am highly pleaſed with the good ſervice of this gentleman, and in doing this you will likewiſe give ſatisfaction to general Carnac."

Accordingly, on the 13th of March 1767, colonel Sir Robert Barker ſent a party of ſeapoys to

ſeize

ſeize Mr. Nicol, who being ſo ſeized, was put into a boat, and, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, and repreſentations that his fortune and effects were diſperſed about the country, without any perſon to take care of them, he was thus carried down the river under a guard with fixed bayonets to the company's fort at Mongheer, where colonel Joſeph Peach had received orders from governor Verelſt to detain Mr. Nicol under confinement. He was there accordingly confined, expoſed to a contagious diſtemper which then raged in the fort, and to all the inſolence and ill treatment of black ſeapoys, one of whom followed him wherever he went, with a drawn ſword, as many perſons can atteſt, particularly captain George Knot and Patrick Duff, and lieutenant Guinett and Ramſay, officers then in the ſaid ſervice, until the 1ſt September 1767, when he was again marched under a guard to a boat, and carried to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 9th; but was kept aboard the boat, cloſe to the ſhore, in imminent danger of his life from the baans *, till the 12th September 1767; when he was ordered by Mr. Verelſt into the

* Upon the influx of ſpring tides into the Ganges, there is a fair conteſt between the ſea and the river. When the ſea has overpowered the torrent of the Ganges, it riſes over the level of the freſh water, and ruſhes in with the greateſt rapidity and violence in large waves on each ſide the river, for many miles above Calcutta. There is at this time no ſecurity for boats but by getting them into the middle of the river, which the roaring of the waves, being heard at a great diſtance, gives the diligent boatman ſufficient time to effect. This is what the natives of Bengal call baan.

the New Fort. Being now arrived within the diſtricts of the company's charter of juſtice, Mr. Nicol applied to an attorney at law for aſſiſtance; who, after three days deliberation, wrote to Mr. Nicol, as follows.

"SIR,

"The cauſe of your confinement I am an entire ſtranger to, but do imagine the mayor's court, to which I belong, cannot take any cognizance thereof. The method that has been taken for redreſs here by gentlemen in your ſituation, was by proteſt from the notary public. I am,

"SIR,

"Your moſt obedient ſervant,

12th Sept. 1767, Calcutta. WM. Atkinſon."

The peruſal of this letter occaſioned the following being written by Mr. Nicol:

"To the honourable Harry Verelſt, Eſquire, preſident, &c. council of Fort William.

"Gentlemen,

"I beg leave to inform you, that in March laſt I was ſettled as a merchant, in the vizier nabob, Sujah al Dowlah's country, (your ally) whoſe authority I had, when I was informed that you had wrote to the vizier, to allow your troops to make me a priſoner: on which I wrote to colonel Sir Robert Barker, the commanding officer of your troops at Illahabad, of which letter you have a copy incloſed.

"I conſidered how ſoon an affair of this kind ought to be brought to a hearing, and that I might not be the occaſion of a miſunderſtanding between you, gentlemen, and one of your allies, I informed the vizier nabob Sujah al Dowlah, that I had come to the reſolution of not waiting for Sir Robert Barker's anſwer, but of ſetting out immediately for Illahabad; who replied, that if I had reſolved on it, he would accompany me thither, and get colonel Barker's leave for me to remain there, till he had wrote you on the ſubject. But, to my great ſurprize, Sir Robert Barker made me a priſoner on my arrival, and informed me, gentlemen, that it was by your order; and that he muſt ſend me down in three days, which he did, under a guard of ſeapoys with fixed bayonets, who carried me to Mongheer fort. There I was a priſoner from the 2d April to the 1ſt September; when I was by the brigade-major carried out of my houſe by a guard of ſeapoys with fixed bayoners, and delivered over to lieutenant Brown, who brought me down with a party of ſeapoys, and delivered me over, on the 12th September, to Mr. Cook, their fort-adjutant, where I am now confined, without any legal cauſe aſſigned. I have only one word more, gentlemen, and I have done, which is, that it appears very extraordinary to me, that I ſhould be confined upwards of ſix months without having a hearing; and that if I had been ſent from Mongheer ten days ſooner, I ſhould have been here in time to have been tried at the quarter ſeſſions.

"But you are too ſenſible, gentlemen, that you have nothing to alledge againſt me which I am aſhamed of, or you can make a plea of for my impriſon-

priſonment. I beg the favour of your anſwer, and remain with reſpect,

" Gentlemen,

" Your moſt humble ſervant,

" From my priſon, New Fort William, the 13th Sept. 1767." (Signed) " James Nicol."

Mr. Nicol could obtain no ſatisfaction whatever. But on the 16th September 1767, the following letter, from the governor and council of Calcutta, was delivered to him by lieutenant Cook, the fort-adjutant.

" To Mr. James Nicol.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the honourable the preſident and council to acquaint you that they inſiſt on your embarking on the lord Holland for Europe, in conſequence of the part you acted in the late aſſociation, and your behaviour ſince; that captain Nairne has an order to receive you on board, with your neceſſaries; and alſo that he has been paid 30l. ſterling, in order to ſupply you with freſh proviſions during the voyage. I am,

" SIR,

" Your moſt obedient ſervant,

" Fort William,
" 14th Sept. 1767." Simeon Droz, ſecretary."

This was the firſt formal notice Mr. Nicol had ever received of any accuſation of miſbehaviour, having been ignorant and innocent of any: and

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it was the firſt notice he had ever received to quit India. It was therefore one among the many ſtrong inſtances that have been given of the ſummary way of adminiſtering juſtice, which has of late been adopted in Calcutta, viz. by condemning and puniſhing firſt, and then informing the parties what it is for; but taking care to afford them no opportunities for proving their innocence, and eſcaping the higheſt injuries.

Mr. Thomas Davie went out to the Eaſt Indies in the month of February 1762, licenſed by the company as a free mariner, who at that time went out licenſed, for an unlimited time, to reſide and trade in all parts of India within the company's limits, upon only giving ſecurity in 500l. not to become chargeable to the company.

Upon the commencement of the troubles with Coſſim Ally Khawn, he entered into the military ſervice of the company. On the 12th of January 1764, he was promoted to the ſtation of an Enſign; and on the 26th February 1765, he was further advanced to the rank of Lieutenant. This commiſſion he reſigned; and the reſignation was formally accepted, as will appear by the following letter.

" To Mr. Thomas Davie, at Burdwan.

" SIR

Chuprah, the 21ſt June, 1766.

" I this day received your letter of the 16th " May, and immediately communicated the con- " tents to Lord Clive. His Lordſhip directs me

" to

" to acquaint you, that ſince you have thought " proper to reſign your commiſſion, you are no " longer to be conſidered as in the ſervice, and " are therefore immediately to repair to Calcutta.

" I am, SIR,

" Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

(Signed) " HENRY STRACHEY, Secretary."

Mr. Davie in obedience to his Lordſhip's order repaired to Calcutta, but was never informed of any particular buſineſs his Lordſhip had for him there; and being relieved from all military engagements, upon the ſtrength of his original licence, he continued to reſide there, and in other different parts of Hindoſtan, as a private merchant, in which ſituation he continued many months unmoleſted, peaceably and ſtrictly complying with the laws of the community wherever he reſided. His buſineſs having called him to Illahabad, on the 9th of March 1767, he was there ſuddenly ſeized by a party of ſeapoys detached from the brigade of the Engliſh army, then at that city, under the command of colonel Sir Robert Barker, from whence he was carried to Patna, and thence to Mongheer. After being there confined for near three months, without any reaſon being alledged for it, he was then conveyed in company with Mr. James Nicol to Calcutta, where he arrived on the 9th September 1767, and continned impriſoned in company with Mr. Nicol.

While he thus continued under guard, he received the following letter.

" To Mr. Thomas Davie.

" SIR,

" I am directed by the honourable the Preſident and Council to acquaint you, that they inſiſt upon your embarking on board the Lord Holland for Europe, in conſequence of the part you acted in the late aſſociation, and your miſbehaviour ſince; that captain Nairne has an order to receive you on board with your neceſſaries, and alſo that he has been paid the ſum of 30l. ſterling, in order to ſupply you with freſh proviſions during the voyage. I am, Sir,

" Your moſt obedient ſervant,

" Fort William, the 10th Sept. 1767. SIMEON DROZ, ſecretary."

Mr. Davie had never been prohibited from trade, admitting that the company even poſſeſſed that power, neither had he ever been informed, that his reſidence or even any part of his trade were injurious or incovenient to the company. This was, moreover, the firſt information he had ever received of any miſbehaviour, of which he was totally ignorant, and the firſt notice he had had for leaving India.

Theſe two gentlemen were continued in priſon together: and on the 17th September 1767, the Serjeant-major delivered an order to the Serjeant of their guard, from captain Frederick Thomas Smith, the town-major, not to ſuffer them to go out of their own room on any account whatever, except to the neceſſary-houſe; the centinels were at the ſame time ordered to be removed to the inſide of their priſon.

During

During the time theſe perſecuted gentlemen were ſuffering ſuch hardſhips, a humane gentleman, then adjutant of the artillery in the company's ſervice, named Bonny, and who had done them ſome acts of kindneſs, was ſent for by the town-major, who ſeverely reprimanded him, for it, and told him that were the preſident to know what he had done, the probable conſequence would be his diſmiſſion from the ſervice.

In the night of the 18th September 1767, lieutenant George Brown went with a party of ſoldiers, and by order of the governor ſeized the priſoners, forced them into a boat, and afterwards put them on board a ſloop, carried them down the river, and kept them confined on board in a miſerable ſituation, till the 12th October 1767, when they were forced * on board the Lord Holland Indiaman

* Theſe gentlemen reſigned their commiſſions in May 1766, and their reſignations were accepted. They were afterwards left unmoleſted to follow their lawful trade in different parts of Hindoſtan, which trade was not, in any reſpect, injurious to the company. Nevertheleſs, without any previous notice, they were to be forcibly ſent to England, upon an illegal accuſation of a pretended offence committed ſixteen months before, and for which they were in no ſhape called to any account, when others were ſo ſeized and tranſported. The ſtrong deſire of the ruling party in Bengal to get theſe gentlemen from India will appear from the following letter of the governor's to the officer who had charge of them:

"To Lieutenant Brown.

"SIR,

"I have received your letter of the 7th inſtant. My orders to you were, to keep Meſſrs. Nicol and Davie under

man, captain Nairne; who, from motives of prudence, refuſed to receive or keep them as priſoners on board his ſhip.

' Upon captain Nairne's ordering lieutenant Brown and his eapoys from off his deck, the lieutenant found himſelf neceſſitated likewiſe to take his priſoners with him into the ſloop, where Mr. Nicol fell dangerouſly ill of a † pucka fever. Had he died, he would probably have been thrown overboard, as food for the alligators, and all his complaints would have ſunk into oblivion with him. But his miſeries were not to end here. The priſoners were conveyed back to their confinement at Calcutta ‡, where the diſorder of Mr. Nicol continued to increaſe: and on the ſurgeon's repreſentation of his danger to Mr. Vereſt, both priſoners were

under your particular cuſtody, until captain Nairne ſhould have come on board the Lord Holland with his diſpatches from us for England, and that you ſhould then embark them thereon as paſſengers. He has already left Calcutta, and I hope this conduct has been obſerved by you. If this ſhould reach you in time, the only direction I have farther to give you is to take proper care, that neither of thoſe gentlemen quit the ſhip and attempt a paſſage back to Calcutta upon any returning ſhip or veſſel.

I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

Fort William, the 10th Oct. 1767. (Signed) Harry Vereſt."

† A putrid fever ſo called, it is generally fatal, and ſometimes carries perſons off in twenty-four hours.

‡ Surely ſuch ſeverities, from ſuch cauſes, muſt ſerve to remind every reader of the tyranny and cruelty of baſtiles and inquiſitions, and of the treatment of unhappy captives by barbarous nations.

were enlarged on their parole of plighted honour, not to quit Calcutta without the governor's permiſſion, and to embrace the firſt good occaſion of their going to Europe.

When Mr. Nicol had ſo far recovered his health as to be able to walk out with the ſurgeon's permiſſion, he went to Mr. Richard Whittall, another attorney of the mayor's court, to conſult with him on the means proper to be uſed for obtaining juſtice for the injuries he had received from the preſident and council of Calcutta; who told him no redreſs was to be expected in India; that no * attorney dared to act for him, and that all he could do, was to lay a ſtate of his wrongs before a notary public, and deſire him to frame a proteſt againſt the perſons who had injured him. He accordingly went to Mr. John Holme, the only notary public there, who repeatedly declined it, from a fear, as he ſaid, of incurring the diſpleaſure of the governor and council. Mr. Nicol then ſought to get ſome perſon to go with him, to ſerve as a witneſs of Mr. Holme's refuſal: but ſo great and general was the dread of diſpleaſing the governor and council, that no perſon whom he applied to would grant his requeſt. At laſt, Mr. Nicol took his fellow-priſoner with him, and in his preſence demanded again of the notary public the diſcharge of his duty. But he continued to refuſe the drawing up of a proteſt; or even the regiſtering of one that was previouſly prepared and preſented to him for that purpoſe; nay, at laſt told Mr. Nicol, if

* The ſtate of juſtice cannot be on a worſe footing either in Tartary or in Barbary.

he thought himſelf injured, he might go to England, and ſue for redreſs in the court of king's bench *.

Mr. Nicol, by petition, then complained to the mayor's court, repreſenting that he had applied to all the attornies of that court, but finding himſelf unable to obtain juſtice in Calcutta, and being informed that a proteſt, duly authenticated by a notary public, was the only voucher of authority he could carry with him to England, of his having endeavoured in vain to obtain juſtice in India, he had made repeated applications to Mr. John Holme for that purpoſe, who was the only notary or regiſter in Calcutta, who had conſtantly refuſed either to note, regiſter, or authenticate any ſuch inſtrument. The atteſting affidavit of Mr. Thomas Davie was prefixed to this petition, and being read by Mr. Thomas Woodward then mayor, and the aldermen on the bench, they informed Mr. Nicol, that it was a matter that did not fall properly within their cognizance, nor could they oblige Mr. Holme to draw out the proteſt; but they ſaid, he could not in juſtice refuſe doing it.

However at laſt, Mr. Holme did conſent to note the proteſt; the priſoners afterwards redeemed their pledged honour, by informing the governor of their deſign to embark for England, which they put in execution on the 18th of December 1767, after

* To very little purpoſe can actions be commenced in the king's bench, whilſt ſuch inſurmountable difficulties are ſuffered to occur in the procuting of evidence from India; where ſuch deſpotiſm is eſtabliſhed, as may be ſuppoſed to operate irreſiſtibly on the ſide of oppreſſion.

after ſuffering long impriſonment, being much injured in their fortunes, having their views in life blaſted, and Mr. Nicol in particular with a conſtitution much impaired, to wait inEngland for the arrival of their oppreſſors from India, and the precarious iſſue of expenſive ſuits at law, in which the moſt eſſential proofs of injuries are to be atteſted in India, where their proſecutors acted as magiſtrates, as judges and as ſovereigns; ſo that, in ſpite of all laws in being, their very obtaining evidence might be effectually prevented, though applied for by a commiſſion iſſued from the high court of Chancery; it is to be hoped, that the ſufferers will at laſt obtain juſtice, from this court of equity, the deciſion of which will be a precedent for the future, and determine whether a Britiſh ſubject has a right or not to reſide unmoleſted in the dominions of princes, independent of the Eaſt India company, without being dragged forcibly, from the very ſeat of their empire.

Whether Mr. Verelſt who was one of lord Clive's famous committee, had imbibed in that capacity the notions of arbitrary power, or modelled afterwards his government, according to the oppreſſive precedents of his lordſhip, I do not take upon myſelf to determine. The numerous complaints and late trials in England to obtain redreſs againſt divers acts of lawleſs authority, during his preſidency, inſpires an unfavourable opinion of his unpopular adminiſtration. Amongſt ſeveral other inſtances, we ſhall mention one moſt extraordinary after the convenient uſes made of the paſſive nabob's, by the governor and council of Calcutta, under whoſe direction alone this nominal prince is

obliged

obliged to act, whenever it is neceſſary for any private purpoſe to oppreſs individuals.

Two Armenian merchants of eſtabliſhed order and reputation, like many others, had been long ſettled in India, and were peaceably engaged in carrying on their mercantile buſineſs in the provinces bordering on Bengal, which the company had taken from, and afterwards reſtored to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah. Their buſineſs interfering with the private views of the governor and ſome of the council of Calcutta, it was thought neceſſary to have them removed: not contented with having them ſuddenly ſeized by the company's troops and confined, without ever being accuſed, confronted or heard upon any pretended crime or misbehaviour whatever, in the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah, the governor and council had them forcibly brought down into their own territories, where they could more conveniently ſecure them, and where they were kept impriſoned for ſome months, to the utter ruin of themſelves and families. After they had been long enough impriſoned to ſerve the purpoſes intended, they were ſet at liberty, but without being acquainted with any reaſon for ſuch impriſonment: and, deſpairing of ever obtaining juſtice in Bengal, two of them came over in queſt of it to England; where, flattering themſelves that the court of directors would naturally diſcountenance ſuch oppreſſion, they preſented a very reſpectful petition to the court; which, as it will give the beſt ſtate of their caſe, we will preſent the reader with a copy of, as follows.

"To

To the honourable the court of directers, for the affairs of the honourable the united company of merchants of England, trading to the Eaſt Indies.

The petition of Gregore Cojamaul and Johannes Padre Rafael, Armenian merchants, late of Bengal.

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That your petitioners, who are natives of Iſphahan in Perſia, have for many years reſided in India, particularly in the provinces annexed to Bengal, and in the dominions of the different princes bordering upon thoſe provinces, where they have carried on, for themſelves and others, a very extenſive trade, always with the permiſſion and approbation of the different princes, in whoſe dominions your petitioners reſided; always paying the duties exacted by ſuch princes, and always chearfully ſubmitting themſelves to the laws of ſuch countries.

"That it has ever been the cuſtom, from time immemorial, for Greeks, Georgians, Turks, Perſians, Tartars, Caſhmeerians, Armenians, and other nations, to reſort to and traffic in India, where the country nabobs, ſenſible of the benefits ariſing from the reſort of foreign merchants and the increaſe of trade, have at all times encouraged ſuch perſons to the utmoſt of their power.

"That beſides their own traffic, your petitioners likewiſe, for about ſeven years laſt paſt, have been honoured with buſineſs upon commiſſion from ſun-

ſundry Engliſh gentlemen, ſeveral of whom are now in England.

"That your petitioners in ſuch tranſactions have ever acted to the ſatisfaction of their conſtituents, and with credit to themſelves; having ever ſtudiously avoided interfering in any other than their own mercantile affairs; and they have ever been well-wiſhers to the honourable Engliſh Eaſt India company, having never, in the moſt diſtant manner acted contrary to the intereſts of that company.

"That your petitioners were lately reſident in the dominions of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and the rajah Bulwant Sing, who, to the great ſurprize of your petitioners, received orders from your preſidency of Calcutta, or Fort William to baniſh your petitioners out of their countries.

"That thoſe princes communicated the orders which they had received from your ſaid preſidency to your petitioners, who had the honour to be favoured with the friendſhip of the ſaid princes; who propoſed various expedients to ſcreen your petitioners from violence, as your petitioners can ſhew by authentic documents in their hands, to the ſatisfaction of this honourable court.

"That the friendſhip of thoſe princes having induced them to evade the immediate execution of ſuch tyrannical orders, for which they knew no cauſe, your preſident Mr. Verelſt wrote again in repeated letters, and in the moſt peremptory terms, to have your petitioners ſeized, impriſoned, and ſent down into the company's provinces to Patna and Murſhedabad; and for fear of farther delays or evaſions, orders were given to the immediate

mediate ſervants of the Engliſh company, who were employed to ſeize and impriſon your petitioners, as they are likewiſe ready to prove to the ſatisfaction of this honourable court, by authentic documents and writings under the hands and ſeals of the ſaid company's ſervants.

" That accordingly your petitioners were ſeized in the moſt ſudden, cruel and inhuman manner, and brought down to the company's factories at Patna and Murſhedabad, being obliged to quit inſtantly all they were poſſeſſed of in that country, to a very conſiderable amount, together with their books and papers, and the effects of many other perſons with which they were intruſted, and for which they are accountable.

" That during the confinement of your petitioners, their relations did deliver to your preſident, Mr. Harry Verelſt, ſundry petitions, particularly one of the 15th May 1768, and of the 13th June 1768, (which your petitioners imagine ſtand recorded upon your Calcutta conſultations) requeſting the releaſement of your petitioners, and offering to give any ſuch ſecurity for money, or the appearance of your petitioners, as might appear reaſonable to your ſaid preſident and conucil.

" That the ſaid petitions were paid no regard to, but your petitioners were continued under confinement; your petitioner Gregore Cojamaul having been confined from the 14th March 1768 to the 28th Auguſt 1768, being five months; during which time they were treated worſe than convicted felons; Cogee Rafael being firſt impriſoned in a horſe-ſtable, and afterwards both kept in cloſe confinement under a ſtrong guard of the company's

pany's ſeapoys, with fixed bayonets, who never ſuffered your petitioners to ſtir out of their ſight.

" That being at laſt releaſed from confinement, your petitioners and their friends waited upon your preſident, Mr. Harry Verelſt, not only to be acquainted what were the cauſes of his diſpleaſure, and why they had been confined, but requeſting leave to return up the country to ſecure their effects and outſtanding concerns, thereby to preſerve themſelves and families from ruin; but, to the misfortune of your petitioners, all their applications were paid no regard to, nor could they ever obtain any ſatisfaction, or be acquainted why they had been thus capriciouſly impriſoned for ſo long a time, and then ſet at liberty, without being accuſed of even a fictitious miſdemeanor?

" That, to the great aſtoniſhment of your petitioners, upon their arrival in Calcutta, they were informed, that your governor, Mr. Harry Verelſt, and his council had been pleaſed to publiſh an edict, under date of the 18th May 1768, prohibiting all Armenians, Portugueze and their deſcendants, from reſiding or trading in any part out of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa; or attempting to tranſport any merchandize beyond thoſe provinces, under penalty of the utmoſt ſevere corporal puniſhment, and the confiſcation of ſuch merchandize; an atteſted notorial copy of which moſt extraordinary public edict is in the hands of your petitioners, for the inſpection of this honourable court.

" That your petitioners were hereby not only deprived, among others, of thoſe rights which were due to them, as men, by the law of nations,

but

but were deprived of that freedom of trade which their nation had always enjoyed in the times of the worſt of the ancient black nabob's, and in particular were alſo deprived of all hopes of ever recovering thoſe effects from which they had been thus forcibly and capriciouſly taken.

"That your petitioners, who have been therefore neceſſitated at a great expence to come to England for juſtice, now appeal to the equity of this honourable court; requeſting, that they will either indemnify your petitioners for the great loſſes they ſuſtain, or that they will be pleaſed to order home, to anſwer for themſelves, the preſident Mr. Vereliſt, and ſuch of the company's ſervants as to this honourable court may appear to have been the acting perſons in the oppreſſions complained of,

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, ſhall ever pray.

"London, the 12th September 1769." (Signed) "Gregore Cojamaul,
"Johannes Padre Rafael."

It was natural for theſe injured Armenian merchants, who then knew but little of the ſtate of the company and the party views of its directors, to imagine that the court would have ſhewn ſome readineſs, if not a ſerious diſpoſition to redreſs their wrongs. But, to their ſhame be it ſpoken! the petition is ſaid to have been thrown aſide, and to have lain by, unanſwered and diſregarded to this day; while theſe foreign gentlemen, as is ſaid, have been left to ſeek redreſs at law, exactly

in the diſtreſsful ſituation already deſcribed, expoſed to the neceſſity of ſending commiſſions to India for evidence, and of waiting for the precarious arrival of their oppreſſors from India; ſome of whom may perhaps ſhameleſsly attempt to ſcreen themſelves by the practice and now uſual ſubterfuge, of pretending the matter complained of was tranſacted by the nabob, in the extra-judicial diſtricts of the charter.

Many other inſtances might be given, to prove the badneſs of the government, police, and adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe diſtant dominions: ſome of which, though there looked upon as trifles, would in this country be conſidered as matters of the moſt ſerious conſequence. Indeed to enumerate all the facts of that nature which have come within the writer's knowledge, would be to fill a large folio volume.

Theſe Armenians, notwithſtanding a ſolemn deciſion of a court of judicature in their favour, are obliged to wait for the iſſue of another trial; there is no doubt but juſtice will prevail againſt the arts of ſophiſtry, and the important rage of cruſhed deſpotiſm.

The Eaſt India directors have been long poſſeſſed of all the papers relative to theſe proceedings; for the honour of national juſtice, and their own vindication, they ſhould have publiſhed to the world their juſt reſentment againſt the principal delinquents in ſuch infamous tranſactions.

The cruel abjection in which the wretched natives are kept by the company's ſervants, makes humanity ſhudder. It is not unuſual for a maſter to ſend a native ſervant to the zemindar, to receive a flagel-

flagellation at the cutcherry; or to collect by a military force, twenty or thirty Engliſhmen, inhabitants of the ſettlements, and to confine them in a dungeon in the new fort for a day or two. This was done on a ſimple verbal order from lord Clive; the occaſion was this: complaints had been made that many Europeans kept public houſes for the retailing of a ſpiritous liquor called perrier arrack, to the ſoldiery. They were immediately ordered to be taken and carried to the new fort; and the execution of this commiſſion was left to the black ſeapoys, who were diſpatched for that purpoſe. As it was left to the diſcretion of thoſe ignorant people, many innocent tradeſmen were apprehended with others who really did ſell this liquor, and all were promiſcuouſly conducted to priſon in this wanton manner. As there was no legal redreſs or ſatisfaction to be obtained, the injured parties were obliged to ſuppreſs their complaints, and to hide their paſt reſentment.

The reader will hardly entertain a doubt that the mere will of power has been the ſole rule of juſtice in Bengal, either with reſpect to dominion, property, perſonal ſafety, or the infliction of puniſhment next to death? or whatever the preſident and council, or whatever kind of junto has of late years been appointed to rule at Calcutta, by the court of directors in London, have not there exerciſed ſuch unbounded deſpotiſm, as was wholly incompatible with the laws of this kingdom, thoſe of humanity, or ſuch as would be thought intolerable even in Turkey or Barbary?

The

The pretence of governing Bengal by a nabob under a great mogul, is a moſt ſcandalous impoſition, thoſe puppets of ſovereignty being no other than penſioned inſtruments of impoſture and tyranny. While the annual charge upon the revenue for the ſupport of thoſe pagents in ſway has at one time been above a million ſterling. Theſe deductions from the company's income have been made a fund or reverſion for the private purſes of their ruling ſervants in theſe countries, who have deprived the wretched natives of their undiſputable right of appeal to the laws of this kingdom, while they are bereft of protection from the juſtice of their own country.

By the oppreſſive monopolies introduced with the ſanction of Lord Clive and his ſecret committee, whoſe pernicious ſyſtem ſtill operates at Calcutta, not only the inland trade, which was ever free by the conſtitution of thoſe countries, to all who ſhould pay the eſtabliſhed duties, but even the coaſting trade, has been partially engroſſed, to the obſtruction and injury of numbers, for the enormous advantage of a few. The monopoly of the inland trade, as now exerciſed on account of the company itſelf, is become the moſt grievous of all others, as it is under the ſanction of their purchaſes, that all oppreſſions in this department are effected, ſuch monopolies exclude even the natives from all free trade, and their ſituation is rendered the more inſupportable, as the public regulations are pretended to be made for their benefit. Some appearance of freedom in exports has indeed been preſerved in the ſubjected Bengal provinces; but yet there have been ſuch obſtructions and embarraſments

raſments in dealings, and ſuch monopolizing of workmen, as have frequently occaſioned the paſt complaints of the French, Dutch and Danes. The cauſes of them ſtill exiſt to the great grievance of the people; and the injury of the country; the known conſequences of thoſe evils have been the loſs of foreign trade, on the back parts of the provinces, from which great wealth was formerly derived to them, the leſſening of a ſimilar reſerve from the trade of the other diſcontented companies, and ſo great a ſcarcity of money in circulation, as will ſoon leave theſe provinces in a total want of ſpecie for the exigencies of trade, if the draughts from thence for China and the other parts of India are continued. While the manufacturies are going to deſtruction, and population is decreaſing, with the public revenues waſted or miſapplied, the poſſeſſion of Empire threatens the company with inetrievable diſtreſs. Every principle of true policy has been inverted in practice to the injury of the natives, and the effectual diſcouragement of European ſettlers, who as well as the civil ſervants, have on ſeveral occaſions voluntarily taken arms in the cauſe of the company. Lord Clive during his laſt preſidency, informed the court of directors, that no dependence could ever be placed on the powers of the country for any thing but treachery, and ſhould a favourable occaſion offer for it, the worſt of all treatment, and indeed in future times of war and danger, it may be found impoſſible for the company to keep up European forces ſufficient for all kinds of ſervice in the conquered provinces, without promoting the free emigration of Britiſh ſubjects to India.

The

The ſecurity of the company's poſſeſſions requires this encouragement and protection as an extenſive population, that is intereſted in the defence of a country, muſt naturally be its moſt ſafe and effectual ſupport, againſt foreign invaders and ſuch natives as may be inclined to revolt; but the oppoſite policy with reſpect to thoſe countries has been uniformly purſued abroad, and the preſent directors have adopted a ſyſtem calculated to diſcourage the emigration of free merchants and free mariners to India; if we attribute to ignorance, theſe impolitical meaſures, they are unqualified for the direction; and as to deſign, we muſt ſuppoſe that ſuch abuſes ſerved their private views at home, as thoſe of their favourite ſubſtitutes abroad.

The mixed government of the nabob and the company, ſince the acquiſition of the important territories, which were ſubdued by the ſubjects and forces of the ſtate is a ſoliciſm in legiſlation. It is even a national diſgrace to hold them under ſuch ſpecious colours as pretended grants of official contracts from nominal princes, that no power in the world acknowledges, except ſuch as would make the ſame temporary uſes of them, as the Engliſh Eaſt India company have done. There is ſomething exceſſively abſurd in the very idea of veſting an unlimited ſovereign authority on a mercantile ſociety over the princes and the natives of the country, as no real ſecurity either to the company or to the kingdom, can ever be derived from nominal nabobs or moguls; for if their grants are diſputable, they have had immenſe annual ſtipends paid to them to very little purpoſe: and if the temporary power they have been permitted to aſſume

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be of real efficacy in India, then ſuch conceſſions muſt be re-aſſumed at pleaſure, and even transferable at will; and of courſe the rivals or enemies of Great Britain might have a fair pretence to deprive her of theſe acquiſitions.

When the Portugueze acquired their firſt territorial poſſeſſions on the coaſts of India, their kings ſtiled themſelves, as they continue to do, lords of the commerce and navigation of Ethopia, Arabia, Perſia, and India; and no European nation ever diſputed thoſe titles or their right to the territories they had obtained By whatever means the provinces of Bengal fell under the yoke of the company, they now are indiſputably the property of the ſtate: and as there is no ſovereign in India, who can lay lawful claim to them; his Majeſty's title to theſe dominions both by conqueſt and peaceable poſſeſſion cannot be diſputed. The political eſtabliſhment in Bengal, in the year 1765, was therefore as unneceſſary, as it has ſince proved pernicious and the affected fears with regard to foreign powers on the avowal of Engliſh ſovereignty over the conquered provinces in Indoſtan, ſo artfully infuſed into the minds of directors were equally groundleſs and inſincere.

The king of Great Britain is now an Aſiatic Potentate, more capable of protecting the natives than any other power in the Eaſt; and it is an inſult to majeſty to ſuppoſe his object will be the mere ſupport of a monopolizing community who perhaps are no longer neceſſary for anſwering even the ends for which they were incorporated. The queſtion now is not ſimply, if the company in conſequence of their chartered privileges, can carry on excluſive

ſive the trade to and from the Eaſt Indies to greater national advantage than the ſubjects of Great Britain at large? but another more important is, if two or three men, of which conſiſts the junto of leaders in the committee of correſpondence, ſelected among twenty-four directors annually choſen, can at the ſame time govern or conduct the company's commercial affairs, and the ſovereignty of a large and populous empire, at ſuch a diſtance, to greater national ſecurity and advantage, than the king, lords and commons of Great Britain.

In anſwer to the firſt queſtion I will venture to aſſert, that with reſpect to Bengal, every argument in favour of that monopoly, which was formerly uſed with ſome appearance of reaſon, while the trade thither depended upon the country powers of Indoſtan, falls to the ground, now that the company are become ſovereigns, as it would be right to lay the trade open to all Britiſh ſubjects, and agreeable to ſound politics to encourage, under certain limitations, even the ſhips of all other European nations to frequent theſe Indian ports. With reſpect to the ſecond queſtion, it will be generally granted, that a commercial country with a deſpotic ſovereign who is the only merchant, as is in fact the preſent condition of Bengal; muſt be on the verge of ruin; and if it be admitted that all reſources which this nation hopes to reap from thoſe ſubjected dominions, muſt depend entirely on their proſperity; it will then follow, that there is an abſolute neceſſity for the Britiſh legiſlature to ſeperate the merchant from the ſovereign for the preſervation of both.

As

As ſoon as we have been favoured with the particulars of major Munro's campaign, we take the opportunity to fulfil our engagements to the public, in doing juſtice to the great abilities of that excellent officer.

On the 13th of Auguſt 1764, major Munro arrived at Patna, and took the command of the army; and next day he iſſued out the following order. "A regular diſcipline and ſtrict obedience to orders, is the only ſuperiority Europeans have in this country over the natives, and therefore cannot be too much attended to; it is moſt earneſtly recommended by major Munro to all the troops, to ſubmit to it with readineſs and chearfulneſs, which will always enable them to be victorious in the gallant and brave manner they have hitherto been, and will not only redound to their own reputation, but will be the greateſt ſatisfaction and honour they can confer on any officer who has the honour to command them." This was followed by a long detail of orders, and a well digeſted plan of manoeuvres fit to evince the ſkill and judgment of the commander in the day of action. Theſe were to be put in practice when the weather would permit. As the army was ſeparated in different cantonments, the officers commanding theſe reſpective bodies were deſired to acquaint the brigade major the night before a field day, with the ſtanding orders, and they were to make their report to major Munro, as the army had lately been mutinouſly inclined. He ordered the articles of war to be read at the head of each corps once a fortnight, and in the next day's orders "Recommends it ſtrongly to the officers who have lately come into

the ſervice to inſert into a book all orders; and alſo to have a copy of his royal highneſs the duke of Cumberland's ſtanding orders for the army, ſuch of the officers as have them not, may call on the brigade major for them." Had the major arrived at Patna ſooner, in all probability the mutinous diſpoſition of the ſeapoys might have been quelled in embryo by his prudence and ſpirited conduct. The major in the firſt inſtance introduced a ſtrict military diſcipline, which he found had been much neglected by his predeceſſor major Carnac, and being apprized of the murmurs and diſcontents of the ſeapoys on account of the diviſion of the nabob Jaffier Ally Cawn's donation. On the 24th of Auguſt 1764 he iſſued out the following orders.

"From the late behaviour of ſome of the ſeapoys, it becomes neceſſary to have the following orders read and explained to all the ſeapoys of the army at their different cantonments in preſence of their officers.

"It is major Munro's firm reſolution to treat the ſeapoys in every reſpect as ſoldiers, to give them all their juſt rights when they behave well, and their juſt puniſhment when they behave ſcandalouſly; although the donation-money was an indulgence that none had a right to aſk, it has been divided according to the appointment and approbation of the nabob who gave it, and therefore cannot admit of new alterations.

"Major Munro is ſorry he gave it at all, as the licentious, mean and unſoldier like behaviour of the troops, of which the army was then compoſed in reſpect to that donation, will be a reaſon why

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no ſuch indulgence will ever be permitted again to them, or any army in India.

"The ſeapoys, as well in cantonments or quarters as in the field, ſhall always be on the ſame footing as the other ſoldiers; that is, when the Europeans have full or half batta, the ſeapoys ſhall have the ſame, and when they think themſelves aggrieved, they are to apply to their officers in a decent and obedient manner, which will be the ſureſt way of obtaining what they deſire; the major hopes in future he ſhall have reaſon to praiſe and thank inſtead of reproving and puniſhing them, and as the ſeaſon approaches for making towards the enemy the whole army are to hold themſelves in readineſs to take the field."

The ſparks of ſedition which had been kindled by the French ſoldiers in our ſervice and fomented by the Engliſh, from different motives; occaſioned a fermentation amongſt the ſeapoys; no care had been taken by the laſt commanding officer to prevent the fatal conſequences of this defection. He left that arduous taſk to the officers who commanded at the different cantonments. They did every thing which might be expected from military knowledge and experience, and the troops with the aſſiduity of the ſubaltern officers were kept in tolerable order: however, two battalions that were ſtationed at Moneah did mutiny, but were ſoon brought back to a ſenſe of their duty.

The roots of the evil ſtill remained, and ſome of the ſeapoy officers having endeavoured to poiſon the minds of their fellow ſoldiers, they were again ripe for a revolt.

The

The 11th of September captain Galliez's battalion of ſeapoys, one of thoſe under the command of major Champion at Chupparah mutinied and went off; captain Trevanion's battalion of ſeapoys were ſent after them, and came up with them at night when they were aſleep, diſarmed them, and brought them back.

Major Munro to cut off entirely the root of this evil, had twenty-four of the ringleaders immediately tried by a general court-martial of their own officers, and on the 13th the following orders appeared.

"At a general court-martial held at the cantonments near Chupporah, on twenty-four ſeapoys of captain Galliez's battalion of ſeapoys, confined for being taken in actual mutiny and deſertion, the court having duly weighed the crime alledged againſt them, found them guilty of the firſt and third articles of the ſecond and fifth ſection of the articles of war; therefore ſentence them to be put to death, by being blown away from the guns: which ſentence is approved of by the commander in chief, and is to be put in execution accordingly."

Eight of them were blown away from the guns at Chupparah. On the 15th ſix more were blown away from guns at Bankipore, and the others from the different cantonments.

From this manly and well-timed exertion of authority, good order and ſubordination were re-eſtabliſhed among the troops.

On the 9th of October the colonel marched from Bankipore in ſearch of the enemy, and ſo well had he concerted his meaſures, that when the

the army from Patna arrived on the Eaſtern banks of the river Soan, major Champion appeared with his detachment from Chupparah, marching on the weſt ſide of the Soan, and to the ſouth captain Goddard with his battalion advanced to join the army. The whole army croſſed the river Soan at Culvergot on the 11th, in a moſt regular manner by diviſions, the army being divided into three.

Major Stibbert is to poſt a proper guard at the water ſide, in order that the embarkation may be carried on in a regular manner, agreeable to the general orders preſcribed for that purpoſe." And orders were given that none of the boats which ſerved as tranſports for the troops, ſhould go ahead of captain Wedderburn's armed boats who are to lead the van." As the diviſions croſſed they formed upon the banks of the river. In the mean time the field officers of the day, with the quartermaſters and camp colourmen, marked out an encampment at a convenient ſpot from the river ſide. When the whole of the army had croſſed, they marched in a regular manner to their encampment.

The 12th the army halted: they were drawn up in front of the encampment and told off in platoons, ſub and grand diviſions, firings and wings, and their arms and ammunition review'd.

The 13th the army marched by files in two columns abreaſt of each other, and this day it was in orders how to form the line of battle, either on being attacked in camp, or on the march.

On the 14th the major in order to ſhorten the line of march, ordered the columns to march by platoons inſtead of files.

October

October 19. After having marched through a close country, the advanced guard under the command of major Champion came to the banks of a Nullah, over which was a bridge: on the opposite banks were perceived about four or five hundred of the enemy's horse Major Champion ordered lieutenant Mair, who commanded a party of black cavalry, and Mr. Sirdel who had under his command about fifteen or twenty European horse to charge the enemy: the European cavalry led the van over the bridge, and attacked the enemy with great resolution; the black cavalry thus encouraged, fell pellmell upon the enemy, who gave way and retreated with great precipitation for about a mile across a plain, until they arrived at a village called Arrall. As soon as the enemy arrived at this place they separated to the right and left, which made way for a shower from the musketary of a large body of the enemy who lay in ambuscade. This unexpected salutation made our cavalry immediately wheel about and betake themselves to their heels. The enemy who had been pursued from the Nullah, in their return attacked our people, and were joined by above double their number, who rushed out from behind the village.

In vain did lieutenant Mair and the other officers of the ruffale exert themselves to make them keep in a body. Fear had seized them and they were no longer governable, the Europeans kept better together: Mr. Sirdal who commanded them did wonders with his own hands. After killing three of the enemy, he was attacked by a fourth in armour. He made a cut at him, but found it had

no

no effect. The enemy returned it, and it was only by the addreſs of Mr. Sirdel, throwing himſelf out of his ſeat on one ſide of his horſe, which ſaved him. The enemy's ſword cut the pomel of his ſaddle almoſt through: Mr. Sirdel then diſcharged one of his piſtols, which had the deſired effect. Lieutenant Mair and Heſſman ſaved themſelves by an extraordinary leap their horſes made over a wet ditch. Our people were drove back to the nullah; ſome went over the bridge, others under its banks, and many plunged into the water. When major Champion perceived our people retreating, he drew his four companies of ſeapoys up amongſt broken ground, but at ſo great a diſtance from the bridge, that he afforded no aſſiſtance to our horſe, ſo that the enemy was left a little time to parade along the banks of the nullah, now and then leaving one of our horſe-men without a head, who were under the banks. We had four quarter-maſter-ſerjeants killed, three European troopers, and near ſixty of the black cavalry killed and wounded. The enemy loſt their ſhare. Major Munro blamed major Champion in this affair. From this day a ſix pounder went with the advanced guard.

October 22. We encamped in ſight of the enemy ſome time before we came to our ground. The advanced guard halted, and formed in order of battle, and the alarm given, that a party of the enemy was lying in ambuſcade. There appeared in front, a little way to the left of the road, as if a battalion or two of men were drawn up regularly; but upon the field officer of the day, and the aid de camp's reconoitring the ſituation and number of

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the ſuppoſed enemy, they turned out to be the remains of a parcel of trees cut down for firewood by the enemy; they were cut about four feet from the ground, the lop of the ſtumps appeared red like ſeapoys uniform.

It was in orders that the army ſhould march the next morning at ſix o'clock, but afterwards countermanded. The major's intention was to march and attack Sujah Dowlah in his intrenchments; in the evening he held a conſultation with his field officers, in conſequence thereof the major altered his firſt reſolution, and the army remained on the ſame ground.

All the next day to refreſh the troops, and to ſtorm the enemy's intrenchments in the night. Captain Jennings (of the artillery) who had ſerved the campaign before under the command of Major Carnac, when that officer meant to take poſt at Buxar, levelled a village in the rear of the enemy's lines, with the view of throwing up works of defence. He was able from this to inform Major Munro of the ſituation of the ground the enemy was intrenched upon; and as Mr Nicol had aſſiſted him, and had meaſured from the nullah to Buxar fort, he acquainted Colonel Munro that this officer could give him a better account of it. Mr Nicol was accordingly ſent for by Major Munro to inform him in reſpect to the ſituation of the ground, and to know whether he would undertake to carry the army by the nullah to the rear of the enemy's lines. He undertook to do it, provided the major's Harcarahs would conduct the army from their preſent encampment acroſs the plain to the nullah.

Major Munro cautious and reſolute, payed great at-

attention to military order and the art of war; he ordered a battalion of ſeapoys to be placed in a village in front of the left wing, and lieut. Mair with his raſſaſla of cavalry in a zope in front of the right wing, and other neceſſary guards were advanced, and precautions taken to prevent a ſurprize. The better to blind the enemy, and make them believe that we meant to attack their intrenchments by a regular ſiege, major Champion the field officer of the day, was, early on the morning of the 23d, ordered out with all the bildars to erect (a good way in front) falſe batteries, that the enemy might have no ſuſpicion of our deſign at night. But Sujah al Dowlah prevented our ſcheme by marching out of his intrenchments, and offering us battle. After break of day, major Champion diſcovered movements in the enemy's intrenchments, which indicated preparations for battle. At firſt, he only imagined it to be a detachment to oppoſe the building of our ſham batteries; but it turned out to be the enemy's whole army. When major Champion had perceived that it was the enemy's whole army, and that they were marching down to attack us, he gave information thereof to colonel Munro, who could ſcarcely credit the temerity of Sujah al Dowlah, which was the reaſon we were ſo long in forming our line of battle. They advanced ſlowly, now and then firing their cannon. Major Champion returned to camp with his ſeapoys and bildars, and major Munro ordered the tents to be ſtruck, to be ready to form in order of battle, which was done agreeable to orders that had been iſſued out the 13th inſt. Captain Morgan who commanded a battalion of ſeapoys, and had the

vanced poſt at a ſmall village in front of the left wing of the front line was ordered to join the army. They made a ſhocking retreat; inſtead of marching like ſoldiers, they ran like a flock of ſheep — Lieutenant Mair was ordered into the rear with his raſſalla, and to take upon him the command of the whole of the black cavalry, amounting to about 1500. The troops were ranged in battallia about nine o'clock in the following manner:

A front and rear line, and corps de reſerve. The front line conſiſted of the king's troops, a detachment from Bombay, two companies of the Bengal battalion, four battalions of ſeapoys, four twelve pounders, ten ſix pounders, and two howitzers. The king's troops to the right of the centre, the company's to the left; two battalions of ſeapoys to the right of the king's, two to the left of the company's; betwixt the king's and company's troops, four ſix pounders; betwixt the king's troops and the ſeapoys, a twelve, a ſix pounder and a howitzer; betwixt the company's and the ſeapoys, the ſame; To the right of the ſeapoys, a twelve, and two ſix pounders; to the left, the ſame.

The rear line conſiſted of the company's battalion, four battalions of ſeapoys, four ſix pounders, and two three pounders belonging to captain Smith's battalion, which they were indulged with for their gallant behaviour under lieut. Glyn in repulſing ſeven thouſand of the enemy.

The company's battalion in the centre of the line was divided by two ſix pounders; to the right of the Europeans, as well as the left, there were two battalions of ſeapoys, and a ſix pounder to the

the right, and another to the left; the ſeapoy guns remained with their battalion.

The corps de reſerve conſiſted of the grenadiers and the European troops of cavalry, and were ſtationed about fifty paces from the centre in the rear of the front line.

Major Champion commanded the right of the front line, major Stibbert the left, major Pimble the rear line, and captain George Hay of the cavalry the corps de reſerve.

We had a moraſs to our left, in front of our left wing was a village, in front of the right wing was a zope, the ſpace betwixt the village and zope was a plain; to the right of the zope was another village which was beyond the right of our line; in the rear was a village into which all the baggage of the army was ordered, and the black cavalry, of which we had about fifteen hundred, and four companies of ſeapoys were ordered as a protection to it, under the command of lieutenant Mair.

Sujah al Dowlah advanced firing his large cannon, which reached us before our's could do execution; a large body of the enemy paraded behind the village which was our advanced poſt, and marching round were coming through the moraſs to attack our left flank; but on captain Hay who commanded the body of reſerve, marching up to cover our flank (until half a battalion of the front line, and half a battalion of the rear line fell back agreeable to the plan of the battle, to make a face of an oblong ſquare) they were ſurprized into a halt, and our guns being brought to bear upon them they went off, and collecting in a larger body made a circle into our rear, and attacked lieut. Mair

Mair who commanded the baggage guard; from their numbers the enemy obliged our cavalry to ſeek protection from our lines; lieut. Virtue who commanded the four companies of ſeapoys betook himſelf to the village in the rear, and defended himſelf until the guns of our rear line made way for him to join the army. The enemy who thought they had gained an advantage in beating our cavalry, were going to attack our rear line; however their courage failed them, and only a few advanced and fought for death in the field of honour. An officer of rank advanced up to the grenadier company, who deſired him to give his arms up, but this he refuſed to do, and upon makeing a cut at one of the grenadier company, he received him upon his bayonet and diſcharged his piece at the ſame time.

While this happened in the rear, the enemy brought eight pieces of cannon in the village in front of the right wing, which they fired very ſmartly upon us. Major Munro ſent his aid de camp, captain Gordon to captain lieutenant Feak, who commanded major Stibbert's battalion of ſeapoys to the right of the front line, to advance and diſpoſes the enemy of the village, and take their cannon. This order though repeated, was not obeyed; lieut. Nicol who was aid de camp to major Stibbert who commanded the left wing, and adjutant general to the ſeapoy corps, was ordered to take the command of the battalion, and to advance with it. This officer accordingly marched up with the battalion, diſlodged the enemy from the village, and took their cannon. Lieutenant Harper,

per, with captain Smith's battalion of ſeapoys were afterwards ordered to reinforce him.

The enemy were now come pretty near us, major Munro therefore ordered both the lines to march to the right; the troops having croſſed the moraſs to the left, he ordered the front line to charge. When the enemy ſaw our line advancing, they wheeled off to the right, and marched out upon the plain. Summerow with his ſeapoys, and ſix pieces of ſmall cannon, mounted in the European manner, went off in excellent order. When the enemy in our rear failed in their attack upon our rear lines, and our guns begun to play upon them, the line gave a great ſhout; the enemy imagining from this that we had gained ſome ſignal advantage over them, retired upon our line advancing: but the true cauſe of their going off was the loſs of their guns which played upon our right; when the enemy loſt theſe guns, their left was drove through the zope upon their centre. This occaſioned ſome confuſion amongſt them; they were ſo crouded betwixt the village to their right, and the zope to their left, that they were obliged to extend their line upon the plain to the right; this was not done by the enemy with an intention of quitting the field of battle, but our front line advancing at this juncture of time, that which they meant only as room for action, ended in a real retreat. When our ſeapoys in advancing obſerved the enemy marching out upon the plain, they gave them a ding, or huzza; at the ſame time captain Wilding's battalion advanced out of the line, and in a moſt confuſed manner fired their pieces, and advanced in a very irregular manner to the enemy's intrench-

ments

ments, who had left them unguarded in their rear: while this was going on in front, lieutenant Nicol who had advanced to the village on the right with major Stibbert's battalion, and lieutenant Harper who had joined him with captain Smith's battalion, marched ſtraight on to Buxar fort, which the enemy had deſerted as well as their trenches. The enemy had not gone far into the plain when they made a ſort of halt, and ſeemed as if they had had an inclination to return and attack us again; however, they went off, and ſeemingly very diſcontented. The advanced battalions of ſeapoys kept marching on until they came to a nullah, a little beyond Buxar fort; major Munro came after with the whole army, and encamped upon its banks. There was a wooden bridge over the nullah built by the enemy; on their retreat the numbers which crouded over it broke it down, and when our troops arrived, they beheld with compaſſion, number of ſutlers and followers of their camp in diſtreſs, endeavouring to ſave themſelves and their properties from a victorious army, who looked upon them and their all as their juſt right by conqueſt. Men, women, boys, girls, were promiſcuouſly ſticking in the nullah, which was almoſt dry from water, but there remained a deep thick mud which there was ſcarce a poſſibility to paſs; they endeavoured to lead through camels, horſes, tatoo-horſes, and bullocks laden with goods.

The enemy were ſo confident of victory, that when they marched out and offered us battle, they left all their tents pitched, and in this manner fell into our hands, beſides goods which were taken in boats, &c. amounted to upwards of four lacks of ru-

rupees. We took in the field and in the intrenchments 165 pieces of cannon. We had near eight hundred men killed and wounded in the action; the enemy's loſs we could not ſo well aſcertain, becauſe their horſe carried them from the field as they fell, but their loſs muſt have been very great, for our artillery was well managed.

The major turned Buxar fort into a ſtorehouſe and hoſpital, the enemy experienced his humanity from the care he ordered to be taken of thoſe of their wounded who were taken.

This victory due to the ſkill of the commander, and the valour of his troops, cleared the kingdom of Bengal of a formidable and moſt dangerous enemy, and by major Munro's conduct and management, a mutinous army when he took the command, was brought to excellent order and diſcipline; his march and diſpoſition in the field of battle cannot be too much commended. The colonels eminent ſervices merited the command of Bengal or Madraſs; his timid predeceſſor was on the eve of being appointed to the government of Bombay, as a reward for the exertion of his military abilities in 1764. Major Munro is the man to whom the Eaſt India company owe their preſent exiſtence in Bengal.

We remained four days at and near Buxar to bury the dead, to collect the enemy's guns and ſtores, and make ourſelves fit for action again. The 25th, major ſir Robert Fletcher joined the army, and in the evening a detachment of 200 Europeans, rank and file, three battalions of ſeapoys, 200 black cavalry, two ſix pounders, and one twelve pounder, were ordered to be ready to

march

march under his command the next morning. The intention of this detachment was to fall upon the rear of the enemy as they were croſſing the Ganges; but the colonel receiving information that moſt of them had got over, the detachment did not proceed, and he croſſed the Ganges on the 27th with the whole army a little below Buxar fort, leaving an officer with four companies of ſeapoys to defend that fortreſs.

We did not now enter Sujah al Dowlah's dominions like major Carnac's detachment, we did not march like ruffians making depredation wherever we went, nor ravaged nor oppreſſed the innocent farmers; we entered the country like a civilized nation whoſe honour was at ſtake, to chaſtiſe the prince who had inſulted the Engliſh flag the campaign before; and to ſhew him what might be the conſequence of ſuch an attempt in future, and oblige him to make reparation for the preſent. Major Munro therefore on the 29th, gave out the following order:

"The ſoldiers are ſtrictly forbid to go out of the lines; any that are found *plundering, or ſetting fire* to the villages will be puniſhed with the utmoſt ſeverity. Major Stibbert will pleaſe to have theſe orders carefully explained to the ſeapoys."

And next day when the order of march was given out, this order was again repeated in the following manner;

"No plundering on any account whatever, without a ſpecial order, whoever ſhall be detected therein contrary to theſe orders ſhall be immediately hanged in ſight of the whole army: theſe orders are to be read and carefully explained to all the black

black troops." * And to prevent, if poſſible any of the men incurring the penalty of diſobeying theſe orders. The major on the 2d of November, ordered "a company of ſeapoys to attend at the head quarters, in order to be poſted at the different villages as the army paſſes to prevent their being plundered or burnt." Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, on the 5th, a mogul was detected plundering, and as the major was determined to have his orders obeyed, he ordered the mogul to be hanged in front of the camp, at five o'clock the ſame evening. This day the 5th, was a very long march, which was occaſioned by the major's deſire to reach the Gumpty river, over which we were obliged to conſtruct a bridge, and on the 7th in the afternoon we croſſed it.

On the 8th we encamped near the famous city of Benaras, and immediately after the major iſſued out the following order. "None of the troops or followers of the army are on any account whatever to go into Banaras, or out of the limits of the camp, on pain of being ſeverely puniſhed, and if any perſon is detected plundering, he is to be immediately hanged." And next day "a detachment conſiſting of a captain, two ſubalterns, two ſerjeants, two drummers and fifty rank and file, were ordered to do duty in Banaras, and to be relieved every 48 hours." This was in conſequence of a treaty betwixt major Munro and the inhabitants of Banaras, in regard to ranſoming the place, which was ſaved from plunder for four lacks of rupees, which ought to have been four times that ſum.

We found the king of Delhi Shaw Allum at Banaras with a few forces under his command. In conſequence of a negociation which was on foot betwixt him and the major for inveſting him with the dominions of Sujah al Dowlah; a battalion of ſeapoys were ordered on the 20th to encamp in front of his camp on the Allahabad road, as a ſafe guard for his majeſty; and as the major thought of marching farther into the country after Sujah al Dowlah, he ordered on the ſame day; "Mr. Wood is to acquaint major Munro how many carriage bullocks are in the different buzars; how many there are remaining of the company's carriage bullocks, and to enquire if any are to be had with proper ſaddles and bags at Banaras; or if they are to be got in the country by any means, and to find out if carts or any other methods are uſed in this country for carrying grain over land, he is alſo to let him know the quantity of grain now in the boats;" and the contractors are ordered on the 22d to provide biſcuit for the men according to cuſtom immediately, and what elſe he ſhould have for the uſe of the army.

On the 25th the king was ſaluted with nineteen guns, on the treaty being concluded betwixt him and the major on the part of the company; and it was in orders the day before, for "ſuch of the officers, as will be off duty to-morrow, who chooſe to wait on the king, and wiſh him joy of being put in poſſeſſion of Sujah al Dowlah's country by the Engliſh, are deſired to meet at head quarters at nine o'clock to morrow morning: it is neceſſary to acquaint them, that it is cuſtomary to make him a ſalem on the occaſion, and the leaſt that ſhould be

given

given by a captain is five gold mohurs, and three by a ſubaltern."

Things being thus ſettled with the king, the major before he left the army to proceed for his native country, wiſh'd to reduce the ſtrong fort of Chunar; however in this he did not ſucceed. A detachment of two battalions of ſeapoys, and two hundred Europeans rank and file, including the pioneer company, with a captain of artillery, two twelve pounders, two ſix pounders, one eight inch howitzer and two royals, beſides two eighteen pounders, which were ſent up the river in the armed boats, and they paſſed Chunar-Fort in the night time. Major Pemble of the Bombay detachment had the command, and was ordered to march and lay ſiege to the fort. Captain Polier who had been appointed field engineer, was ordered with the detachment with 500 bildars with pickaxes, &c. 300 laſcars, and 60 carpenters with felling axes, &c.

Chunargurr fort in the Hindoſtan is ſituated upon the Weſt ſide of the Ganges. The day after the detachment marched and ſet down before the place, the major marched up with the army, and encamped upon the eaſtern banks oppoſite to the fort, where he erected a two gun battery, which was of no other ſervice than annoying the enemy in their houſes by the river ſide.

The major at this time received information that the enemy were making head to return and try their fortune once more in the field. He therefore on the 28th gave out the order of battle, ſhould the army come to action.

Major

Major Pemble reporting the breach practicable, it was ſtormed next morning an hour before day. Our men at firſt marched up the hill with the greateſt reſolution, but large ſtones which the enemy rolled out of the breach, and on each ſide of it threw them ſo often down, and rolled them back again by twenties at a time. What with their endeavours to clamber up ſo ſteep a rock, and their being ſo often tumbled back by large ſtones rolled down upon them, our people were at laſt ſo fatigued, that they were obliged to give it up. Captain Dow who commanded a battalion of ſeapoys, now a lieutenant colonel in the ſervice, and his ſerjeant were the only two that got up to the breach, one on each ſide; here they remained ſome little time unſupported, at laſt, they were rolled down among the others; captain Dow from the top to the bottom of the hill; his ſkull was fractured by a ſtone for which he was obliged to be trepanned.

I will take upon me to ſay the bad diſpoſition major Pemble made of the ſtorming party, was the reaſon of our miſcarriage. The major ordered the ſeapoys in front of the cadets, and the grenadiers to follow them: the conſequence was, that while ſome of the ſeapoys were rolled down by the ſtones, others came tumbling down through fear; they carried all thoſe who were behind them, before them down the hill; it was impoſſible it could be otherwiſe in ſo ſteep a place: had the cadets and grenadiers gone up firſt, it is natural to ſuppoſe that many of them would have got up, juſt as well as captain Dow and his ſerjeant, and had

fifteen

fifteen men taken poſſeſſion of the baſtion cloſe to the right of the breach on the firſt day's aſſault, it would have ſecured to us the firſt. This was endeavoured to be rectified on the 4th, when we again ſtormed the place, but it was too late then. The enemy's ſpirits were revived by our repulſe: they defended the place much better on the ſecond attack, and rolled ſuch amazing quantity of ſtones, that our people could not enter the breach, though they did every thing which might be expected of brave men; they were therefore drawn off when day appeared.

Major Munro on the 5th, ſhewed the ſenſe of this miſcarriage in the following words.

"The commander in chief is fully convinced from the report major Pemble has made him, that the two aſſaults made on Chunar fort miſcarrying, was owing to no misbehaviour of the troops, but to the ſteepneſs of the aſcent, and ſo many being diſabled by the number of large ſtones which were tumbled down from the breach; he is much obliged to the officers for their gallant behaviour, and deſires the men may be aſſured he ſhall always regard them in the ſame manner as if their endeavour had been attended with ſucceſs."

We had not many men killed at the two attacks, but great many bruiſed from the ſtones. Mr. Wilding, a cadet, was left much wounded at the hill, of which he afterwards died; he was brought off by two ſeapoys, for which brave action they were appointed tamidars, by order of major ſir Robert Fletcher, commander of the company's troops, which was a judicious and well-timed promotion, as an encouragement to future acts of bravery.

On

On the 6th, the army marched back to Benaras, and encamped there the 7th, but before the major raiſed the ſiege, he, on the 5th, gave out the following order:

"As an action is ſoon expected with the vizier, it becomes neceſſary that the detachment ſhould join the army, leaving a ſufficient force to prevent proviſions and ſtores being brought into the fort; the action being over, the ſiege will be carried on again."

Sujah al Dowlah having collected together his ſcattered forces, was marching towards us, and it was thought he would attack us again. Major Munro therefore, when we arrived upon our ground at Benaras on the 7th of December, gave out the order of battle, ſhould the army come to action; and the troops encamped as they went to form in order of battle, with the guns in the intervals. The detachment that was to be left to prevent proviſions and ſtores being thrown into Chunar fort, joined the army.

On the 10th, the army marched to a more convenient ſpot for covering Benaras, and five companies of ſeapoys were ſent to take poſſeſſion of a hill and tank to the left of the encampment; and on the 12th, a company of ſeapoys were ſent to take poſſeſſion of a ſmall fort in front of the camp, and other neceſſary guards were placed to prevent a ſurprize; and on the 28th, it was in orders, "for "all the guards, advance poſts, and centinels are to very alert, particularly in the night time, the enemy having marched nearer our camp." Ever ſince our arrival at Benaras from Chunargurr, we were kept in continual alarm of Sujah al Dowlah's marching

marching down to attack us; every precaution was therefore taken to prevent a ſurprize. The king encamped with the few troops he had on the weſt ſide of the Ganges, oppoſite to Benaras, and the major ſent captain Dow with his battalion of ſeapoys as his body guard. Our advance poſts and Sujah al Dowlah's flying parties of horſe were always a ſkirmiſhing. We cannot conceive the meaning of major Munro laying ſo long at Bencras inactive with his victorious army, except he had poſitive orders from the council at Calcutta not to proceed farther up the country. On the 5th of January 1765, the following order appeared: "Major Munro being now to quit the army, once more returns his thanks to the army in general for their good behaviour ſince he has had the honour to command them; and if ever it be in his power to oblige any of the officers in particular, it will not only give him infinite pleaſure, but they will find him both ready and willing."

The major ſet off for Calcutta next day, accompanied by many of the officers.

The command of the army devolved upon major ſir Robert Fletcher.

If we conſider impartially all the diſadvantages under which major Munro took the command, his atchievements and the happy conſequences of his glorious and ſucceſsful campaign deſerve the higheſt commendation and the everlaſting gratitude of the company, which they ſhould have manifeſted before now, by a conſpicuous reward of his eminent ſervices. The army under his predeceſſor having entertained an unfavourable opinion of his military conduct and abilities, had been made contempti-

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ble to an enterprizing prince, jealous of the aggrandizement of merchants become ſovereigns, and who was apprehenſive of their hoſtile intentions; after the nabob of Bengal was become their wretched tool and ſubdued penſioner. The neglect of diſcipline, and unpardonable overſight of ſubordination, added to the miſconduct, irreſolution, timidity, injudicious and contradictory orders of their commander, in diſheartening the troops, diſuled to act in the field offenſively, and with that vigour which is the ſoul of military operations had imbibed in their minds that deſpicable idea of their leaders which made them prone to diſorder and mutiny.

Major Munro ſhewed from the beginning to the concluſion of this campaign, which reflects honour upon his ſteadineſs, valour, and ſagacity, that he was fit to command ſoldiers. He intimidated a mutinous army committed to his care, on the firſt ſymptoms of their murmurs and diſcontent; encouraged them by his example and his kindneſs, when brought to a due ſenſe of their duty; puniſhed and and rewarded them according to their deſerts; and by his ſpirit and perſeverance, rendered victorious this very army which had been inſulted by Sujah al Dowlah, who was made ſenſible of his error and preſumption, in encountring forces which were an overmatch for his numerous legions, when properly commanded.

We are drawing very near the time that lord Clive's unlimited powers in India were at an end: the effects of his civil and military regulations there, as every unprejudiced reader muſt have obſerved, were ſeverely felt by oppreſſed individuals, and deſtructive of the company's reputation and

proſperity. Inſtead of making effectual, juſtice and perſonal ſecurity, by an equitable adminiſtration throughout the Bengal provinces, the immenſe riches of many of the Indies were locked up, which if openly employed in commerce, would have proved of an immenſe benefit to theſe countries, and eventually to this kingdom. There was during his unpopular government, no money to anſwer the purpoſes of the induſtrious husbandman, merchant and manufacturer. The natural fertility of theſe provinces was rendered uſeleſs, and in danger of being inevitably ruined, and the ample field which ſhould have been opened for the moſt ſtrenuous exertion of all human abilities, and ſoon put thoſe provinces on the moſt flouriſhing condition, to the great advantage of the Britiſh ſtate, was become a ſcene of rapine and deſolation; an uncontrouled monopolizing committee, to which the noble lord preſided, was deſtructive of that freedom and induſtry which make a commercial country proſperous; they were continually infuſing into the minds of the directors erroneous opinions to favour ſuch ſchemes as were moſt conducive to their private views; and ſome of the company's ſervants, gentlemen of the greateſt honour and integrity, know how the credulity of the rulers at home have been impoſed upon. Nothing, therefore, but the eſtabliſhment by parliament, of the ſtrongeſt conſtitutional checks on the executive power in Bengal can ever ſecure to the natives or thoſe who ſettle there under Britiſh protection, an equitable adminiſtration.

All the world knows at this time the power which the noble lord aſſumed of obſtructing, perverting,

verting, and influencing the due courſe of juſtice; his lordſhip with his ſecret committee, made no ſcruple in all caſes of ſeizing their fellow ſubjects, of impriſoning and tranſporting them to Europe without trial, or any form of legal proceſs; they increaſed all kinds of oppreſſion through the countries of the nabobs, forced to give them a ſanction; they pretended they had authority to prevent any Britiſh ſubject whomſoever from reſiding or eſtabliſhing himſelf, even without the company's territories in India.

The inhabitants could never be ſecure either in perſon or property as long as the mayor's court at Calcutta was totally dependent on the governor and council. The juriſdiction of his majeſty's courts ſhould not be confined within the Maratta ditch, which ſurrounds Calcutta, but extend to all the company's ſettlements, where the natives ſhould have the ſame facility of obtaining juſtice againſt European oppreſſors or their agents, as at Calcutta.

The inhabitants who have groaned under the worſt of deſpotiſm, will ſee with the utmoſt joy the interference of the Britiſh legiſlature in the impartial diſtribution of juſtice. It is to be hoped, that they will make ſuch regulations as will put a ſtop to all the glaring abuſes and vexations mentioned before; and form a ſyſtem that will prove effectual to relieve the national reputation, ſo vilified by all ſorts of depredations.

In order to prevent this ſpecies of kidnapping in India, which has been hitherto practiſed in India by the company, under the pretended ſanction of the legiſlature, it is neceſſary to enforce the ancient laws, by an act of the 31ſt ſta. of Charles II. entitled

titled "An act for the better ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject, and for prevention of impriſonments beyond ſeas;" it was enacted that "if any inhabitant of England ſhould be ſeized, impriſoned, tranſported, or put a priſoner into any places beyond the ſeas, contrary to that act; every ſuch impriſonment ſhould be adjudged illegal, and the party aggrieved might thereupon maintain an action or actions of falſe impriſonment againſt the perſon or perſons who ſo impriſoned him; or againſt any perſon or perſons that ſhould frame, contrive, write, ſeal, or counterſign any warrant or writing for ſuch commitment, detainer, impriſonment, or ſhould be adviſing, aiding, or aſſiſting in the ſame, or any of them; and the plaintiff in every ſuch action ſhould have judgment to recover his treble coſts, beſides damages; which damages ſo to be given, it is enacted, ſhall be no leſs than five hundred pounds; in which action no delay, ſtay, or ſtop of proceeding, by rule, order, or command, nor no infraction, protection, or privilege whatſoever, nor any more than one importance ſhall be allowed, excepting ſuch rule of the coſt whereon the action ſhall depend, made in open court, ſhall be thought in juſtice neceſſary for ſpecial cauſe to be expreſſed in the ſaid rule: and the perſon or perſons who ſhall knowingly frame, contrive, write, ſeal, or counterſign any warrant for ſuch commitment, detainer, or tranſportation, or ſhall commit, detain, impriſon, or tranſport any perſon or perſons contrary to this act, or be any ways adviſing, aiding, or aſſiſting therein, being lawfully convicted thereof, ſhall be diſabled from thenceforth to bear any office of truſt or profit within the

ſaid

ſaid realm of England, or any of the dominions thereunto belonging; and ſhall incur and ſuffer the pains, penalties, and forfeitures limited, ordered, and provided in and by the ſtatute of perverſion and premunire, made in the ſixth year of king Richard the ſecond, and be incapable of any pardon from the king, his heirs or ſucceſſors, of the ſaid forfeitures, loſſes, and diſabilities, or any of them; and it is known to the major part of the Britiſh ſubjects, that accotding to the 43d article of Magna Charta, a fundamental law and irrevocable, "No freeman ſhall be taken, nor impriſoned, nor diſturbed, nor outlawed, nor exiled, nor deſtroyed in any manner; nor will we paſs upon him, nor condemn him but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land."

An officer who had been ſeized and carried by force into confinement at Calcutta, by lord Clive's orders, ſent to his lordſhip an abſtract of this act; the noble preſident anſwered coolly, that he paid no regard to this obſolete law, which was cancelled by the martial laws. It is proper, however, that all Britiſh ſubjects ſhould be acquainted with whatever is conducive to their freedom and ſafety in the remote dominions of this extenſive empire.

Lord Clive continued and avowed this practice in defiance to the ſpirit and letter of the fundamental laws of this country, as of Britons who go out to India in the company's ſervice, had forfeited the privileges of their birth-right, by ſuch emigration. The aſſuming of this power is ever contrary to the true intereſts of the company, as the free exerciſe of the Britiſh laws in India muſt be the beſt check, and perhaps is the only controlling

autho-

authority they can have over their own ſuperior ſervants. There is therefore, for the ſake of public credit and ſecurity, not only a neceſſity for declaring all ſuch ſeizures and tranſportations illegal, but for eſtabliſhing ſuch legal penalties and forfeitures, upon the plan of the act already quoted, as ſhall effectually prevent ſuch oppreſſions in future: and as the Britiſh legiſlature is now acquainted with the enormities that have been practiſed in Bengal, they will prevent in future the practice of the company's ſeizing, impriſoning, tranſporting, and ruining their fellow ſubjects unaccuſed and unheard.

The powers of moleſting Britiſh ſubjects eſtabliſhed in India, is equally unjuſt and repugnant to the real intereſt of the acquired provinces in Bengal. Every encouragement ſhould be given to Europeans to go out and eſtabliſh themſelves in India, for the ſecurity of theſe acquiſitions, and for the inſtruction of the natives in the uſeful arts, in the cultivation and manufacturing of all the articles produced in theſe countries, as there is great room for improvements in moſt of them.

From what we have already publiſhed, it is evident that the dominions in Bengal can never proſper under ſuch an aligarchy. Now is the time for Great Britain to avail herſelf of theſe advantages, which a ſeries of fortunate circumſtances have thrown in her way. She has yet in her poſſeſſion the moſt valuable provinces of Indoſtan, which with proper management, might be rendered the richeſt jewel in the Britiſh crown, by being made an inexhauſtible ſource of extenſive commerce, maritime power and national wealth.

Should

Should the affairs of the company in Bengal continue to be adminiſtered for a few years longer, as they have been for ſome years paſt, theſe countries would be irretrievably ruined, and the exaſperated natives would ſeek their own relief, or revenge by inſurrections and maſſacres. If therefore the legiſlature ſhould longer withhold their effectual protection and paternal care from the oppreſſed eſtates, they will hazard all the reſources which Bengal at preſent may be ſaid to offer to this kingdon: and if the proprietors of the Eaſt India ſtock ſhould refuſe their effectual and hearty concurrence in every ſalutary meaſure for the relief of the native inhabitants, they will juſtly deſerve to ſuffer the loſſes of ſuch of their property as depends on the trade and poſſeſſion of the Bengal provinces.

Humanity muſt revolt at lord Clive's maxim, that the intereſts of the India company are incompatible with the happineſs and proſperity of the natives under their dominion. The honour of the empire never can conſent, for the paltry conſideration of a temporary emolument, to effect the devaſtation of ſuch rich and fertile countries, and the extirpation or ruin of ſo many millions of civilized, inoffenſive and induſtrious inhabitants; or to ſacrifice that ſolid and permanent advantages which might be derived to this country from a proper ſyſtem of government.

At the requiſition of ſeveral perſons, and that the emigrants in India ſhould not be ignorant of the terms they engage in a civil or a military capacity, we ſhall record the different covenants and licences under which Britiſh ſubjects reſort to the Eaſt Indies for the purpoſe of reſiding there.

It is well known by the charters, and acts of parliament confirming them, which are at preſent in force, and were originally enacted with a view only of ſecuring to the company the excluſive right of trade to and from the Eaſt Indies, that no Britiſh ſubject can ſafely venture even to breathe the air of India without having firſt obtained the permiſſion of the company; thoſe who reſort there in a military capacity are comprehended in the divers ſtations of the ſervice, from the common ſoldier and cadet to the general officer; and the civil department includes covenanted ſervants, free merchants, or free mariners.

In the regular courſe of the company's buſineſs, as eſtabliſhed after the union of the two companies, it has been uſual except on ſome very particular occaſions, for the civil ſervants to go out as writers, not under, and generally at the age of ſixteen years, on their own petition and requeſt; and to raiſe by rotation or ſeniority in India to the ſtations of factors, junior and ſenior merchants, counſellors and governors. Such petition being conſidered and granted by the board of directors, they offer to the young candidate a long printed indenture to ſign, as drawn up by their own lawyers, wherein among other articles, the youth is made to ſign certain agreements and conditions between the company and himſelf, as follow:

"That upon the ſpecial requeſt and intreaty of him, N. the company has received him into their ſervice, as their writer, factor, or otherwiſe, to ſerve them for the ſpace of five years, to be employed on their buſineſs in any place within their limits, between the Cape of Good Hope and the ſtreights

ſtreights of Magellan, and engage to pay him for the ſame the wages (uſually fifteen pounds per annum for a writer) and he N engages that until the full expiration of the ſaid term, he will ſerve them honeſtly and diligently, obſerve and fulfil all orders of the company or their repreſentatives in India, reſiſting all thoſe who ſhall endeavour to break ſuch orders or inſtructions; will not do or ſuffer to be done any thing to the company's prejudice; give the directors the earlieſt intelligence of all deceits, wrongs, abuſes and breaches of orders, and that he will keep and conceal the company's ſecrets (it is ſomething remarkable that this covenanted obligation to keep and conceal the company's ſecrets, is without exception, and not limited to lawful ſecrets, contrary to the general practice authoriſed by the laws of England, where the covenanting ſervant binds himſelf to keep his maſter's lawful ſecrets, nor can legally bind himſelf to do more. But in regard to the Eaſt India affairs, all terms and conditions muſt be abſolute; and yet, it is poſſible for the Eaſt India company to have ſecrets, which it would be a very great error for any Britiſh ſubject to conceal) and he N. alſo covenants and agrees, that before he leaves the company's ſettlements he will faithfully pay and diſcharge all ſuch ſums as he may be juſtly indebted to any of the black merchants, or natives, or to any other foreigners or merchants, not being ſubjects of his majeſty.

It is worthy of obſervation, that though the company make hereby their ſervants engage not to quit their ſettlements without firſt diſcharging

all

all debts due from them to the natives; yet they now make no ſcruple of ſuddenly forcing thoſe who have incurred their diſpleaſure to return to Europe, without troubling themſelves about the juſtice due to the natives; becauſe, they have nothing to fear from the preſent nabob's in conſequence of any complaints which the natives can make.

And upon condition of his keeping and performing his covenants, the company agree, that for the ſaid term of years, he, the ſaid N. ſhall be freely permitted to trade and traffic for his own account only, from port to port in India, or elſewhere within the limits aforeſaid (but not to or from any place without the ſame) without any interruption or hindrance from the ſaid company, or their ſucceſſors; ſo as the ſaid trade be ſubject to ſuch rules and limitations as the court of directors ſhall from time to time direct or appoint, and be not to the detriment of the company or their commerce. And further, in caſe he the ſaid N. ſhall waſte or make uſe of the company's treaſure, become indebted to the company, or in any wiſe make default in performance of his covenants, in ſuch caſe he ſhall not be entitled to any of the advantages intended him; but on the contrary, it ſhall then be lawful for the company, or their governor and council to ſeize and detain the effects of him the ſaid N. until ſatisfaction be made. And for as much as grievous complaints, as is ſaid, have been made to the company, that ſeveral of their governors, counſellors, factors and other ſervants, have committed very heinous and grievous affairs in their factories, and other places within their ſaid

limits of trade, by unjuſtly menacing, impriſoning, aſſaulting, abuſing, and evil treating the natives and black merchants, and by means of ſuch violences, abuſes and injuries, have extorted and forced great ſums of money and other valuable effects from ſuch injured perſons, who by reaſon of the great diſtance from this kingdom, and the wholeſome laws thereof, and by the reaſon that the ſaid company have not been enabled to obtain and render ſatisfaction for ſuch injuries, have been remedileſs: therefore it is alſo covenanted between the ſaid N. and the ſaid united company, that in caſe the ſaid N. ſhall be accuſed of any ſuch violences, it ſhall be lawful for ſuch injured perſons to ſend over complaints and atteſtations of ſuch miſdemeanors, in writing, to the court of directors, to whom it ſhall be lawful to enquire into the truth of ſuch complaints, by all ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think juſt and equitable, and to judge, determine and award ſatisfaction and reparation for the ſame, to be made to the ſaid company for the benefit of ſuch injured perſons by the ſaid N. who agrees faithfully to pay the ſums ſo awarded.

And for as much as it frequently happens, as is ſaid, that the ſervants of the company, by a combination among themſelves, adjuſt and paſs their own accounts with the company, in order to preclude any review, alteration or conteſt of the ſame; it is therefore further agreed, that all and every account of the ſaid N. with the ſaid company, ſo ſtated, adjuſted, balanced or ſigned in the Eaſt Indies, ſhall at all times be taken and eſteemed to be open accounts, formed and prepared only for the

the inſpection, correction, or approbation of the company, and ſhall not in any article bind or conclude them. And the ſaid N. covenants alſo, that he will not be concerned directly or indirectly, in any ſort of commerce from Europe to the Eaſt Indies, or from the Eaſt Indies to Europe, on his own account, under penalty of paying double the value of all goods ſo traded for, of forfeiting all benefits and advantages intended him by and from the ſaid company, and of ceaſing of being their ſervant or agent. And in order to a diſcovery of, and a ſatisfaction for ſuch illicit trade, the ſaid N. conſents, that it ſhall be lawful for the company to file any bill or bills of diſcovery againſt him in the chancery or exchequer, to which he will not demur, or plead in bar of diſcovery, nor alledge any matter whatſoever, whereby to prevent or preclude the company from the relief ſought by ſuch bill; and in conſideration of the diſcovery, or diſcloſure ariſing from a true and full anſwer of the ſaid N. the company agreed to be ſatisfied for the damages on account of the ſaid illicit trade, upon receiving the ſum of fifty pounds for every one hundred pounds of the goods ſo traded for, in lieu of the aforeſaid double value of the ſame. And laſtly, it is provided that if the ſaid N. continues longer than the ſaid term of years in the ſervice of the company, ſuch continuance ſhall be upon the ſame terms and conditions as are ſpecified in the ſaid indenture; ſave and except, that if the ſaid N. ſhall riſe to any ſuperior ſtation, he ſhall receive ſuch wages as are uſually paid to officers and ſervants in the like advanced ſtations."

To one part of theſe indentures given to N. the company's ſecretary ſets their common ſeal; and the other part left with the company is executed in form, under the hand and ſeal of the articled ſervant, who alſo gives ſecurity in the ſum of five hundred pounds, for the performance of his part of the covenants, and truſts to the honour of the company for the performance of theirs. The ſame covenants have been uſually entered into by thoſe who went out in any ſuperior ſtation, varied only with regard to the period of ſervitude (if there is any difference) a larger ſalary, and giving ſecurity for a larger ſum.

The writer gives ſecurity for the performance of his covenants in the ſum of	500
Factor	1000
Junior Merchant	2000
Senior Merchant	3000
Counſellor	4000
Governor	10,000

The indentures or covenants into which it has been uſual for thoſe to enter who go out under the denomination of free merchants, are in ſubſtance as follows:

"That N. having upon his own ſpecial requeſt obtained permiſſion of the court of directors of the ſaid united company, to go to ſome of their ſettlements, there to dwell and inhabit, together with free liberty to uſe and exerciſe any trade and commerce in the way of a merchant, or otherwiſe, in any commodities whatſoever, to and from any ports

ports and places in the East Indies, or elsewhere, within the limits of the company's charter, but not to or from any place without the said limits. It is covenanted and agreed between the said N. and the said company, that he the said N. as also his wife, if he shall have any, together with such children and servants as have the liberty of the said company for that purpose, shall during the time of their respective abodes in the East Indies reside and dwell at as inhabitants thereof; and shall not remove to, or reside in any other place or part of the East Indies, save at——, and that N. if he shall so long live, shall and will reside, and be at one or other of the said places for the term of five years, before his return to Great Britain, unless he shall obtain liberty to return sooner, by writing from the court of directors: and that he will not receive any consignments from Great Britain, except only for diamonds and diamond boart, or such commodities as shall be licensed by the company, he N. paying to the company's governor one per cent. upon the value of such consignments. And also, that neither he N. nor his wife, children or servants, by his privity, shall directly nor indirectly, write or cause to be written over to Europe, any thing or matter relating to the company's trade in India or Europe, except to the court of directors; nor be concerned in any trade or merchandize from Europe to India, or from India to Europe, other than such as be licensed by the said company. And also that he the said N. will give a faithful account of his trade from port to port to the company's governor and council, at the place where he shall reside, in order for the same to be entered in a register

giſter at the factory. And that he will pay all ſuch duties and cuſtoms as ſhall be appointed by the company or their repreſentatives, at the ports or places where ſuch trade ſhall be carried on; and will be ſubject to ſuch other regulations, as they ſhall think reaſonable, for the better government of their trade in, to and from the Eaſt Indies. And N. further agrees, that when ever the company, or their court of directors ſhall apprehend his reſidence or trade, within the limits aforeſaid, to be inconvenient to them, and ſhall thereupon order him to remove to Great Britain, he the ſaid N. ſhall and will, within one year after notice, tranſport himſelf, family and effects to Great Britain, in the ſhips employed by the ſaid company and no other: which effects ſhall be returned in diamonds or diamond boart, or ſuch other commodities, as ſhall from time to time be licenſed or allowed by the company, or elſe in bills of exchange drawn on the ſaid court of directors and not otherwiſe. And the ſaid company do covenant, promiſe and agree to and with the ſaid N. that upon his obſerving and performing the covenants and agreements, in the ſaid indenture expreſſed, faithfully and truly, he the ſaid N. ſhall enjoy the company's protection, within the limits of their charter. And the ſaid N. further engages, that he will not trade, correſpond, or deal with any perſon or perſons, who do or ſhall trade within theſe limits, by or under, or by virtue of, any foreign commiſſion, licence or authority whatſoever, nor with any perſon or perſons, with whom he ſhall be forbid to trade; nor will be aiding, abetting or aſſiſting towards the carrying on of any illegal, unlicenſed or clandeſtine

trade

trade whatever, nor wittingly ſuffer any damage or interruption to be done or given to the affairs or commerce of the ſaid company, but will do all in his power to make diſcovery of, and to prevent the ſame: and in caſe the ſaid N. ſhall fail in the performance of theſe covenants, then by the firſt opportunity offering, after orders received for that purpoſe, he the ſaid N. ſhall tranſport himſelf, family and effects to Great Britain, in manner as above mentioned. And in order to a diſcovery of, and ſatisfaction for, any illicit trade, it is agreed, as in the writer's covenant before ſpecified, that it ſhall be lawful for the company to file a bill in the court of chancery or exchequer, the company agreeing, in conſequence of any diſcloſure or diſcovery ariſing from the ſaid N. anſwers to ſuch bill, to be ſatisfied with fifty pounds for every hundred pounds value of the goods ſo traded for, together with the produce of ſuch illicit trade." Theſe indentures are alſo executed and interchanged in the manner and under the condition already deſcribed.

Free mariners who have been conſidered as a claſs of leſs conſequence, have uſually been permitted to go out upon only giving ſecurity not to become chargeable to the company. Two creditable perſons are jointly and ſeverally held and firmly bound unto the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, in the ſum of five hundred pounds of lawful money of Great Britain, to be paid unto the ſaid company, for indemnifying them in caſe theſe free-mariners ſhould become a charge to them. The court of directors in conſequence of this convention grant them

them leave to reſide in the Eaſt Indies under their protection, after they have given the ſecurity mentioned before, to indemnify the company, and the governors and councils of their ſettlements and factories in India, from and againſt all charges and diſburſements whatſoever, which they may ſuſtain, or be put into for the ſupport and maintenance of the free mariners; but if during their continuance in India, they receive no aſſiſtance whatſoever from the company or their repreſentatives, then this obligation is void.

Until the year 1770, ſuch have been the covenants and licences under which Britiſh ſubjects have reſorted to the Eaſt Indies, for the purpoſe of reſiding there as merchants or traders. About that time there had been many complaints brought home againſt the company and their ſervants for injuries ſuſtained by perſons in India, in conſequence of the power aſſumed by them of ſeizing, impriſoning and ſending fellow ſubjects to England by force. To theſe oppreſſions many of the directors themſelves had been acceſſary, by the very injudicious orders, they had from time to time ſent to their ſervants in India, and they were therefore juſtly apprehenſive that ſome evil conſequence might accrue to themſelves. In order therefore, to ſcreen themſelves in ſome meaſure from the odium and penalties they had reaſon to dread, it was determined to apply for the farther ſanction of the legiſlature for this unconſtitutional power, and upon a motion of the chairman of the board of directors, then a member of the houſe of commons.

On the 26th of March 1770, it was ordered in parliament, "that leave be given to bring in a bill

bill (which was at firſt ſpuriouſly) called a bill for compelling perſons diſmiſſed the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, to depart from the Eaſt Indies, and for better regulating the ſervants of the ſaid company, and for other purpoſes.

The company not ſucceeding in attaining the new powers they aimed at by the bill ſo introduced, had recourſe to the covenants mentioned, which they new modelled, adding thereto ſuch clauſes as were thought neceſſary for ſupplying the want of theſe powers, for which they had in vain applied to parliament.

The free mariners are now licenſed only for a limited time, which is revocable, and they with their families are made liable to be ſent home by force at the pleaſure of the company. They engage themſelves to behave and conduct themſelves in all reſpects conformable to the rules, orders and directions of the ſaid united company, or of the preſident and council of their ſettlement Nor to force directly or indirectly, or be in any wiſe aſſiſting to, or employed by, or for any foreign company trading in or to the Eaſt Indies, or any perſon whatſoever, who do or ſhall, during the continuance of theſe preſents, traffic, adventure or trade to in, or from the Eaſt Indies, or elſewhere, within the limits of the ſaid company's trade, by or under, or by virtue of any foreign commiſſion, licence or authority whatſoever; in default of performance of this covenant, the company's preſident and council of their ſettlement were impowered after due notice, to oblige any free mariner to quit the ſaid ſettlement and return to England. And in caſe of refuſal to ſubmit to theſe orders, it

ſhall and may be lawful to cauſe any mariner for misbehaviour, to be put forcibly on board any ſhip employed by the company, for the purpoſe of being tranſported to Great Britain at the company's expence. And further, by their covenant they promiſe and agree to, that they ſhall not nor will proſecute the company or their court of directors, or any of their preſidents and council, commanders or officers of any ſuch ſhip, in reſpect of ſuch apprehending them, putting them on board forcibly and tranſporting them with their families to Great Britain. And in caſe any ſuch action, ſuit or proſecution ſhould be commenced, they agree with the ſaid company, that the general iſſue may be pleaded, and this indenture, or any other ſpecial matter may be given in evidence by all or any of the defendants; in her diſcharge and defence thereof. And the ſaid united company covenant, promiſe and agree, for themſelves and their ſucceſſors, that in conſequence of this covenant, the free mariners ſhall and may peaceably and quietly trade and traffic in the Eaſt Indies, and ſhall enjoy the company's protection.

In the new indentures for the civil ſervants, all the clauſes and ſtipulations of the old ones, which were favourable to the company are reſerved, and the new additional clauſes are in ſubſtance as follows:

"That in caſe any of the civil ſervants ſhall make default in any of the covenants ſpecified, or ſhall embezzle any of the company's money or effects, or be guilty of any breach of truſt, or be concerned in buying or ſelling any fire arms, or warlike ſtores, to the natives without licence of the com-

company; or ſhall without ſuch licence, hold correſpondence with any prince, nabob or country power in India, or any of their miniſters; or ſhall ſupply, lend or procure for the uſe of any foreign company, or perſons trading under their authority, any money at reſpondentia, or any other ſecurity, loan or engagement whatſoever, that therein each and every of the ſaid caſes, it ſhall be lawful for the company or their repreſentatives, upon conviction thereof to ſuſpend or wholly diſmiſs the delinquents from the company's ſervice, having firſt had notice given them of ſuch an offence, and a reaſonable time allowed them to make their defence. And it is further covenanted and agreed, that in caſe of ſuch diſmiſſion, or in caſe theſe civil ſervants, ſhall chooſe during the continuance of their indentures, to quit or reſign the company's ſervice, and ſuch reſignation ſhall be accepted and agreed to by the company or their repreſentatives, that in either of the ſaid caſes of diſmiſſion or reſignation, it ſhall not be lawful for them to enter into any new commercial concerns; but nevertheleſs they ſhall in either of the ſaid caſes have liberty and authority to ſell their merchandizes and effects on hands, and collect in their outſtanding debts. And the ſaid civil ſervants are alſo made to engage that they ſhall and will, within one year after ſuch diſmiſſion or reſignation tranſport themſelves and families to Great Britain in one of the company's ſhips: and in caſe they ſhall make default in this laſt-mentioned covenant, they do alſo thereby conſent and agree, that immediately after ſuch default, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid company, or their repreſentatives, to cauſe them

them to be apprehended and detained, and to put them and their families on board any of the company's ſhips for the purpoſe of being tranſported to Great Britain. And further, in caſe of ſuch apprehending, putting on board and tranſporting theſe diſmiſſed ſervants and their families, they do covenant and promiſe and agree to, and with the ſaid company, that they ſhall not ſue or proſecute the company, at their court of directors, or any of their preſidents and councils, commanders or officers of any ſuch ſhip, or any other perſon employed in any of the matters aforeſaid, by any civil or menial action for the ſame; and in caſe any ſuch proſecution ſhould be commenced for any of the matters aforeſaid, they do covenant and agree, that the general iſſue may be pleaded, and that the preſent indenture, or any other ſpecial matter may be given in evidence by any of the defendants.

This laſt clauſe ſhews evidently, that the company or their repreſentatives did not think themſelves juſtifiable in the acts of violence above ſpecified, and thought themſelves amenable to the Engliſh courts of juſtice for theſe illegal and arbitrary proceedings, unleſs the oppreſſed were bound by this indenture not to moleſt them.

The clauſes added to the free merchant's new indentures are the ſame as above, with reſpect to the power given the company to ſeize and tranſport them to England, and their agreeing not to proſecute, except that in their indentures it is ſimply ſtipulated, as before, that whenever the company or their preſident and council ſhall ſee cauſe for the free merchant's to leave India, they ſhall have the ſame power of ſending them and their

families

families to Great Britain, after giving them twelve months notice.

Exclusive of the indentures mentioned before, which the company's civil servants engage in, not to receive from the Indian princes any presents in money, jewels, lands, &c in compliance with a resolution of a general court of proprietors. They bind themselves that they shall not, nor will at any times hereafter during the time they shall be employed in the company's service, in any station or capacity whatsoever, either by themselves or any other persons whomsoever, in trust for them, or for their use, directly or indirectly accept, take or receive any gift or gratuity of lands, or rents, or revenues issuing out of lands or any territorial possession, jurisdiction, dominion, power or authority whatsoever, from any of the Indian princes, sovereigns, subjects, or nabobs, or any of their ministers, servants or agents, for any services, or upon any account or pretence whatsoever, without the licence or consent of the court of directors for the time being of the said united company, signified under their hands; nor shall or will at any time, directly or indirectly accept, take or receive any gift, reward, gratuity, allowance, donation, or compensation in money, effects, jewels, &c. from any of the Indian princes or any of their ministers and agents, exceeding the value of four thousand rupees, for any service performed by the said covenanted servants in India, without the same licence or consent of the said court of directors; nor any such reward, gratuity or donation, exceeding the value of one thousand rupees, and under

under the value of four thouſand rupees without the licence or conſent of the preſident and council for the time being.

Gentlemen in the military ſervice of the company have till lately been uſed to go out, without ſigning any covenants or agreements, as upon arrival in India they become liable to the martial law, agreeably to the act of the 27th of George II. and the articles of war eſtabliſhed in conſequence. But they are now alſo obliged to enter into covenants. Thoſe who enliſt as common ſoldiers have not been yet deemed of conſequence ſufficient to require covenants, for being generally friendleſs and unconnected, the company have little to fear from them. The tyrannical practice of keeping up lock houſes for recruiting the forces of the company in the very metropolis of the Britiſh empire, ſeems to have been imported from India: there theſe kidnapped wretches were kept cloſe confined, without communication with their friends, till the company's ſhips were ready, when they were ſecretly conveyed on board.

The new indentures drawn up for the military gentlemen in the ſaid ſervice reſpect chiefly their engagements not to receive preſents of the country princes, and the company's power of ſending them to Great Britain. They covenant, promiſe, and agree that they ſhall not, nor will at any time whilſt employed in the company's ſervice, receive any grant of lands, territorial poſſeſſions, &c. from the Indian princes or nabobs or any of their miniſters, nor any reward or gratuity exceeding the value of four thouſand rupees for any ſervices performed, or to be performed by them in India, without

without the like conſent of the court of directors, nor any gratuity or donation exceeding the value of one thouſand rupees, and under the value of four thouſand rupees, without the licence of the preſident and council for the time being. All the overplus is to be conveyed, aſſigned, and made over to the company for their ſole and proper uſe and benefit, provided always that nothing contained in this covenant ſhall hinder or prevent the gentlemen in the military ſervice from accepting or receiving a ſhare or proportion in reſpect to their military poſts and ſtations, of any gifts or gratuity in money or effects which any Indian prince or ſubah ſhall or may in time of extreme danger, neceſſity, or emergency give or beſtow on any of the military officers or forces of the united company; provided ſuch before gratuity, be with the privity and conſent of the governor and council of the preſidency where theſe officers or forces ſhall be employed, and no otherwiſe: and provided alſo, the ſame is not obtained or enacted by compulſion, or by way of bargain or contract for any ſervice performed or to be performed; and as governor or preſident of any of the company's ſettlements in India, ſhall by virtue of his commiſſion be authorized or intitled to accept or receive any ſhare or proportion of any ſuch gratuity or donation. And the military gentleman in the company's ſervice covenant and agree that in caſe they ſhall be diſmiſſed the company's military ſervice by ſentence of court martial, or by a reſolution or order of the preſident and council of ſuch ſettlement where they ſhall

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ſerve or be, or as they ſhall otherwiſe legally quit the company's military ſervice, than in any or either of the ſaid caſes, it ſhall be lawful to the company or their repreſentatives, at any time after the expiration of ſix calendar months next following ſuch diſmiſſion from or quitting the company's military ſervice, to carry and tranſport them at the expence of the company to Great Britain: ſuch ſtep employed in the company's ſervice, as the preſident and council ſhall for that purpoſe appoint, and in caſe of refuſal, to repair on board ſuch ſhip by the ſpace of ten days after notice ſhall be given, it ſhall be lawful for the ſaid preſident and council then in ſuch caſe, and they are fully authoriſed, to apprehend, detain and convey them forcibly on board the ſaid ſhips.

It appears by theſe new indentures, that in caſe any military gentleman ſhall be diſmiſſed the ſervice by ſentence of a court martial, or by a reſolution of the governor and council of the ſettlement where he ſerves on, and he ſhall otherwiſe legally quit the ſaid company's ſervice in any, or either of the ſaid caſes, it is agreed to be lawful for the company, upon ten days notice after the expiration of ſix months from ſuch diſmiſſion or reſignation to apprehend, detain, and by force tranſport him to Great Britain, for which it ſhall not be lawful for ſuch military gentleman, or his heirs, to ſue or proſecute

In the indentures of the writers, they engage to reſiſt theſe who do ill, to do none themſelves, and to inform the directors of the evils done by others. Had the leaſt of theſe duties been ſeaſonably encouraged,

couraged and attended to for the general advantage, by the directors, without ſuffering thoſe party connections which have of late diſtracted the company's affairs, to ſuppreſs thoſe acts dictated by reaſon and equity in conſequence of their truſt; it is probable theſe immenſe fortunes which have been ſo rapidly made in India by the company's ſervants, had not expoſed the weakneſs and inſufficiency of the coercive power of the gentlemen of the direction, over their ſubſtitutes; but the ſituation of their affairs in Aſia would have been far more proſperous than at preſent, and neither attachments nor preſentations would probably have been directed to theſe iniquitous courſes which they have followed.

There is likewiſe mention made, in the new covenants, "that grievous complaints had been made of governors, counſellors, and other ſervants of the company having been guilty of evil treating and unjuſtly impriſoning the natives and black merchants, and by violence extorting great ſums of money from them; who by reaſon of their being at ſuch a diſtance from this kingdom, and the wholſome laws thereof, have been left remedileſs, and the company had not been able to obtain ſatisfaction from them." And on this account the company covenant with their ſervants, "That it ſhall be lawful for ſuch injured perſons to ſend over their complaints and atteſtations to the court of directors, to whom it ſhall be lawful to enquire into the truth of ſuch complaints, and to judge, determine, and award ſatisfaction to the injured, by all ſuch ways and means as they ſhall think juſt and and equitable.

This clauſe may be ſaid to imply an acknowledgment of the iniquities that have been long practiſed in India. Yet notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the evils therein complained of, have of late years increaſed to the laſting diſgrace of the directors and their ſervants. The inſertion of this clauſe therefore, never has been of the leaſt avail, either for the prevention or detection of theſe abuſes, and we have not of late years heard of any rapacious governors being ſeriouſly called to account for ſuch offences.

It behoves therefore the honour of the court of directors, who have for ſo long a time taken this department of juſtice into their own hands, to ſatisfy the nation in regard to the ſatisfaction they have given to the oppreſſed natives of Bengal, more eſpecially ſince the whole inland trade and the revenues have been taken entirely under the direction of their chief ſervants in theſe dominions, which are reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs.

As no information of this ſort has been given, the public have reaſon to conclude, that ſuch clauſes are as unmeaning as they are unbinding and illegal.

But it is natural to enquire, how it became neceſſary for the aggrieved people in India to apply to a ſelf erected court of judges in England, for relief by deciſions, which in their natures muſt be arbitrary, when there are or ought to be, courts legally eſtabliſhed on the ſpot fully competent for all good purpoſes, to the juſtice of which the natives, if they pleaſe are to be permitted to appeal. The directors have of all men the leaſt pretence to object to the courts of India; which, if corrupted, it

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is their duty to reform ; but which in fact cannot be corrupted except with their connivance at the malverſations of their ſervants.

It is therefore to be feared, upon a due examination into this matter, it will be found, that the aim of the directors, by taking upon themſelves the power given by the clauſe under conſideration, could be no other than to add to that dangerous deſpotiſm in India, which they have long ago aſſumed ; and that while they ſeem to diſcountenance ſome late notorious enormities, they have been ſcreening the conduct of theſe very ſervants who have been accuſed of the moſt flagitious acts of oppreſſion and breaches of truſt.

The conditions impoſed on the free merchant, merely in conſideration of his licence, and the enjoyment of the company's protection within the limits of their charter, are in many points unreaſonably ſecure ; particularly in obliging him to bind himſelf to continue for a ſtipulated term of years at the place appointed for his reſidence, however unpromiſing or even prejudicial it may prove to him. There at all events, according to the covenants, he muſt remain his time out, unleſs he can obtain a written permiſſion for quitting it, although he is made to bind himſelf to continue for a ſtipulated term of years at the place appointed for his reſidence, however unpromiſing or even prejudicial it may prove to him. There at all events, according to the covenants, he muſt remain his time out, unleſs he can obtain a written permiſſion for quitting it, although he is made to bind himſelf to leave India, with his family, on a year's notice being given him for ſo doing, on the ſimple plea that his

his abode there is inconvenient to the company. He likewiſe binds himſelf to deal with no one with whom he is forbid to trade; which is a prohibition, that if made general againſt any man in India, is the moſt effectual of all means that could be deviſed to ruin him. And it is well known, that innocent and worthy men have been doomed to deſtruction, by thoſe who have governed there.

It is evident from the preſent unfortunate condition of moſt free merchants now in India, and particularly in the provinces of Bengal, that it is not worth any ſpirited and induſtrious men's while to ſolicit the company's protection, on account of the hard terms impoſed on them in England, and the great reſtraints that have been laid on their dealings in India. This diſcouragement cannot be removed, till the happy eſtabliſhment of more ſalutary regulations ſhall take place. The ſafety of theſe poſſeſſions, as well as the advantage of the kingdom call for a ſpeedy reformation.

It is proper to obſerve, that when the licenſed emigrants want to remit their fortunes to England, they muſt inveſt their effects in the manner only which the covenants preſcribe, which is by remittances in diamonds or diamond-boart, or by bills of exchange upon the company; both of which are ſometimes impoſſible, the governor of Calcutta engroſſing the diamonds, and even the directors ſometimes having forbid their governors and councils to take money into their treaſury for bills on them in Europe. Lord Clive gave ſtrict injunctions before he left India, the laſt time he was abſolute governor of the Bengal provinces, that no diamonds weighing more than two carrats ſhould

be

purchaſed without his knowledge and conſent. The real value of the diamonds he brought to Europe is not yet known.

If the covenants above deſcribed be legal, it is evident, that every Britiſh ſubject now emigrating to India is lawfully expoſed to unavoidable ruin, at the option of the directors or their ſubſtitutes, and actually bind himſelf to thraldon; for they agree with the company, that whenever it is convenient to them, they ſhall have the privilege of depriving him of the fruits of his labour and induſtry, impriſoning him, taking him from his family, and baniſhing him from one ſide of the globe to the other; to all theſe hardſhips and oppreſſions he will quietly ſubmit, and neither he nor his heirs ſhall ever proſecute the company, or their agents for any loſs or damages conſequent of ſuch tranſactions.

But if this is conformable to the preſent laws of England, with reſpect to perſons of age, ſurely, with regard to the writers and cadets, at the age of ſixteen years, it is an impoſition on ſuch maſters to require from them ſuch agreements to laws of their own making, as are calculated at a future period, to deprive theſe young perſons of all benefit and protection from the laws of their country.

Before Lord Clive returned to Europe, the provinces of Bengal became a ſcene of rapine, depredations, and the moſt oppreſſive monopoly. It ſeems this once flouriſhing, now wretched peninſula was abandoned to the moſt iniquitous peculations of his friends, creatures and dependents, who all came to their native country, loaded with the ſpoils of the Eaſt. There had been precedents of

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governors banyans, who by making a traffic of duſtucks, and other illegal practices, under the ſanction of their employers, had acquired conſiderable fortunes. Theſe banyans, who act as deputies and interpreters, in every department of the government as well as the commercial concerns of the Engliſh Eaſt India company in Bengal, they frequently carry on an extenſive trade on their own account duty free, under cover of their maſters duſtucks.

Nabhoiſs,--Lord Clive's chief benyan, a man of no principles, and great commercial knowledge, proud, vain, oſtentatious, but plauſible and inſinuating; by his ſkill and connexions became one of the wealthieſt agents in the Eaſt; his riches were not known, and he had the policy to hide his views and his treaſure from his noble maſter, whoſe plan he purſued with a relentleſs ſeverity, for their mutual advantage and the ruin of the country. He ſpent within a few years after Lord Clive's return to Europe, lacs of rupees [120,000l.] in balls, feaſts, and other entertainments.

Quid domin farnt audet cum taic fares.

The abſolute prohibitions of Britiſh ſubjects from going to India, except with licence of the Eaſt India company, now ſubſiſting, and even the arbitrary reſtrictions and treatment to which are ſubject thoſe who obtain ſuch licence, are no leſs contrary to the ſpirit and nature of the Engliſh conſtitution, that they are violators of the natural and ſocial rights of mankind.

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The excluſive right of trade to and from India, if legally to be given to any body of merchants, was all that could be granted with any colour of juſtice, even on the appearance of its being exerciſed to great national ſecurity. But that a ſovereign of this kingdom can by any charter, however confirmed, transfer a power to one part of his ſubjects to impriſon, baniſh and ruin another at their pleaſure either for convenience, or from wanton malice and revenge, muſt be as repugnant to the juſtice and conſtitution, as it is contrary to the intereſt of the country.

For the right information on ſuch intereſting matters, we will here produce certain caſes which have been laid before certain learned counſel; with the opinions that were returned them by the honourable William Murray, now lord Mansfield, the late attorney general, Charles York, John Browning, and Charles Sayer, Eſquires.

Whether the Eaſt India company have any and what power over the ſubjects of England in general, or even their own ſervants in particular, both or either of them reſiding in the Eaſt Indies; Whether the company can order ſuch perſons to leave India and return to Great Britain; and in caſe of refuſal, can the company put forcibly ſuch perſons on board their ſhips, and bring them to Europe? and whether the company can anywiſe, and how, prohibit any Engliſh ſubject reſiding in India from trading within the company's limits without their licence? and in caſe any ſuch perſons ſhould trade in India without ſuch licence, have the company any, and what remedy to prevent the ſame, or to puniſh them for ſo doing; and in what manner

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can they do ſo, and can they withdraw the licence of trading, which they have already granted to any of their own ſervants or others? and in caſe any ſuch perſons ſhould trade after ſuch licence is withdrawn, are they liable to any and what penalty, or can the company order them to Europe?

Anſwer by Mr. Murray. "The company may ſerve any Britiſh ſubjects who trade, or are found within the company's limits in India, without the authority from the company, and bring them over to England to be perſecuted. The power the company has over their own ſervants ſeems to me not ſo much to depend upon the acts referred to, as upon the charters or by-laws of the company. If the licences are granted during the pleaſure of the company, ordering the perſon's continuance in their ſervice, I think they may be withdrawn, and afterwards the perſon will be liable to all the penalties for trading without a licence, and may be ſeized and brought over; but if the licences are for a time certain, or indefinite, and underſtood to be as long as the perſon licenſed has a mind to trade. I do not ſee how the company can withdraw them.

31 January,
1756. (Signed) William Murray.

Upon the ſurrender of a charter of the thirteenth of George II. the Eaſt India company obtained the 26th of George II. certain courts of juſtice, called the mayor's court at their ſettlements of Fort St. George, Bombay and Fort William at Calcutta in Bengal, for hearing and determining civil actions and pleas ariſing within their ſeveral juriſdictions.

It

It happens that ſeveral perſons, privately and without any licence from the company, have from time to time gone to the Eaſt Indies, and have fixed themſelves at ſome of the company's ſettlements, and carried on conſiderable trade in the Eaſt Indies for their own private advantage.

When ſuch perſons have acted to the company's prejudice, the company have given directions to the governors at their ſeveral ſettlements to ſend ſuch perſons to England. The governors make a difficulty in executing of ſuch orders under apprehenſions they may, at their return to England, be liable to actions for damages at the ſuit of ſuch perſons, and that in ſome caſes it is not in their power to comply with the company's orders; and they give the following inſtances.

A perſon is ordered by the company to be ſent to England; this perſon is a great trader in the Eaſt Indies; is conſiderably indebted to ſeveral perſons at the ſettlement where he happens to be reſident, and has alſo conſiderable effects in the hands of his correſpondents in different parts of India.

By ſuch perſon's being ſent to England in conſequence of the company's orders, his effects are embezzled, or ſold greatly under value, his creditors in India loſe their debts, and his effects in the hands of his correſpondents are in a great meaſure loſt, and the perſon himſelf ruined. And yet, if any of thoſe reaſons prevail, all the acts of parliament, made to prevent ſubjects going to, or reſiding in India without the company's licence, are rendered ineffectual.

Queſtion. Whether notwithſtanding theſe objections, the company may ſafely order perſons to be ſent to England, who have repaired to and reſided in India, without their licence; and will the company's governors or agents in India, by obeying ſuch orders, be liable to an action at the ſuit of the perſon ſent home; if ſuch perſon ſhould make it appear he has thereby ſuſtained great damage in his fortune?

Anſwer by Mr. York. "I am of opinion, that if a perſon has reſided for a conſiderable time in the company's ſettlements, traded openly, been converſant with their governor's officers and agents, and amenable to their courts; ſuch perſons will be conſidered as having had a licence in ſubſtance, though not in form, by reaſon of the notice which the company muſt be preſumed to have of his reſidence; and there acquieſcing, without objection. That acquieſcence would be ſufficient to excuſe him from the penalties of the acts of parliament. It ſeems ſcarce adviſeable to exerciſe the authority of ſending home perſons who have gone to India without licence, unleſs it be recently after their arrival.

Mr. Browning did alſo coincide in opinion with Mr. Yorke, "as the ſerving of any perſons who has been thus permitted to reſide and trade in India for any conſiderable time, by which he muſt neceſſarily have contracted debts in trade, and have effects in the hands of, or demands upon other traders there, would have the appearance of great hardſhip, and would ſubject the perſon who ſhould ſeize him to actions, and raiſe no ſmall clamour againſt the company.

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A perſon is ordered to be ſent to England who owes money to ſeveral perſons at the ſettlement where he is reſident, and perhaps as unwilling to return. His creditor, either of his own accord or by contrivance with ſuch perſon, enters an action in the mayor's court for the recovery of his debt, and makes an affidavit that ſuch perſon was going to England: upon this an arreſt warrant iſſues from the mayor's court, and the perſon is apprehended, and either held to bail or committed to priſon for want of bail.

Queſtion. What power has the company in ſuch caſe over the perſon ſo arreſted and held to bail, or committed to priſon, the company's governor and council having no power or controul over the proceedings of the mayor's court, and what is to be done in ſuch caſe?

Anſwer by Mr. Browning. "The taking a perſon under the circumſtances above-mentioned out of the hands of a court of juſtice, would in my opinion, be ſtill more improper and unjuſtifiable.

The governor and council at Bengal having in their letters to England, expreſſed their doubts with reſpect to the powers of ſending to England, perſons who may behave themſelves, eſpecially military officers, who till very lately ſigned no contract or agreement with the company, the court of directors think it highly eſſential for the intereſt of the company to have theſe matters aſcertained, and to obtain farther parliamentary powers, if neceſſary.

Mr. Sayer having peruſed the papers and former opinions of council laid before him, to give his opinion touching the powers which the court of directors

directors or the company's preſidencies abroad, have over the ſeveral orders of people reſiding in the Eaſt Indies, with reſpect to the ordering and ſending them home in caſe of misbehaviour, or diſmiſſion from the company's ſervice or their own voluntary reſignations, viz. civil ſervants, military officers, free merchants, ſeafaring people and their families, and any other perſons reſiding in India, with or without the company's licence, and having alſo conſidered the powers of the company here, or their preſidencies abroad, with reſpect to their taking or aſſiſting the inhabitants for the neceſſary ſupport and charges of government, and upon the whole.

Queſtion. The court of directors deſired Mr. Sayer's opinion as to what meaſures it will be proper for them to take, and what orders to give, in the ſeveral matters abovementioned to their ſeveral preſidencies.

Anſwer. I do not find in the agreements entered into, between the company and their civil ſervants, military officers, and ſeafaring perſons, any covenants on the part of ſuch perſons which oblige them to leave India and return home, though ordered by the company ſo to do, (be their continuance ever ſo dangerous to the company's affairs); excepting their agreements with the free merchant, who covenants, that upon being ordered by the company to leave India, he will within a year after ſuch notice tranſport himſelf, family and effects to Great Britain.

Had ſuch a covenant been entered into by the civil, military, or ſeafaring perſons; and they had refuſed to return to England, after proper notice

tice had been given them ſo to do, I ſhould have had but little ſcruple in adviſing the company to bring them home forcibly, though they are not ſtrictly within the deſcription of thoſe offending, who may be lawfully brought from India by force; but I think, a perſon brought from thence by force, who had covenanted to leave India upon notice, and refuſed ſo to do, would, upon an action brought for ſuch force, recover damages too trivial for the company to regard.

As the company's ſtipulations with their civil and military ſervants are ſo very deficient, application ſhould be made to parliament for a clauſe to be inſerted in an act, that all their civil ſervants or military officers, who have been diſmiſſed from or left the company's ſervice, and all thoſe whoſe agreements with the company for reſidence in India are expired and at an end, and ſhall refuſe to leave India, in order to return to Great Britain, after three months notice given to ſuch who are military officers, and ſea faring perſons, and twelve month's notice to ſuch who are civil ſervants, and free merchants, ſhall be ſubject and liable to all the penalties and forfeitures contained in the ſeveral acts of parliament for ſecuring the excluſive trade to the company, againſt Britiſh ſubjects, who trade, or are found within the company's limits in India, without their licence or authority; ſuch a clauſe, in my opinion, may be eaſily obtained from parliament, almoſt without debate, as the penalties have already been approved of by parliament, and the perſons wanted to be included therein being fully within the deſcription of trading,

ing, or being found in India within the company licence.

12th Oct. 1767.

CHARLES SAYER.

Such were the opinions of the great lawyers to whom the East India company applied, upon the right in queſtion: and the learned gentleman whoſe opinion is laſt, not only ſeems to encourage his clients to the practice of impriſoning and tranſporting, becauſe the damages that would in certain caſes be recovered by the injured, would be too trivial to be minded; but alſo ſeems to have thought, that the company would readily obtain any powers for practiſing this ſpecies of tyranny, by only aſking them of parliament.

Encouraged therefore by this opinion, and alſo inſtigated by theſe private motives the court of directors, by their chairman, then a member of the houſe, in March, 1770, attempted in parliament to obtain the paſſing of the bill already mentioned, which under the ſpecious title of a "Bill for compelling perſons diſmiſſed the ſervice of the East India company, to depart from the East Indies, and for better regulating the ſervants of the ſaid company" was artfully contrived to extend the powers of the company, by the formal ſanction of the preſent parliament: for this bill, in it's original form, did not alone reſpect perſons diſmiſſed the ſervice, as would appear from the title, but extended indiſcriminately to all Britiſh ſubjects, who were thereby to have been made liable to be ſent from India to England by force, at the option of the company, or there

their governors and councils; if ſeafaring or military officers, upon only ſix, and if company's ſervants, or free merchants, upon twelve months notice.

A public ſpirited gentleman * who, having for many years reſided in Bengal, as a free merchant and in the company's military ſervice, was well acquainted with the evils conſequent of the too great powers already exerciſed by the company, and who might himſelf alſo be materially affected by the intended bill; preſented a petition to the honourable houſe of commons, repreſenting that ſuch part of the bill in queſtion as reſpected the authorizing of the company to ſend to England any of his majeſty's ſubjects from the Britiſh ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies without their own conſent, or otherwiſe than by due courſe of law, was, as he humbly conceived, contrary to juſtice and the fundamental principles of the conſtitution: and praying to be heard at the bar of the houſe, by himſelf or his counſel, againſt ſuch part of the ſaid bill.

Counſel was accordingly retained, and prepared to be heard before the houſe, and the following reaſons againſt the exceptionable parts of the bill were printed off, and diſtributed among the members of parliament, viz.

1ſt. "Becauſe by this bill the Company will be impowered to inflict, upon Britiſh ſubjects, the moſt ſevere of all puniſhments, except death, viz. impriſonment, baniſhment, and total deprivation of property, not only without any legal proceſs, but

* The gentleman to whom the public are indebted for this commendable conduct, was *Archibald Keir*, Eſquire.

but even without accuſation of any crime; a power which is conceived to be inequitable and oppreſſive in the higheſt degree, and ſuch as is ſeldom exerciſed even under the moſt abſolute and arbitrary governments in the world.

2dly. Becauſe, under colour of this power, the governor and council of any ſettlement in India, upon the moſt capricious and cauſeleſs diſlike taken againſt any Britiſh ſubject there, or on a rivalſhip in trade with any of the members of the council, may ſuddenly, and irretrievably effect his total ruin, though ſuch perſon ſhould never have been concerned in any trade, or other matters, that interfered with the real intereſts of the company, in any manner whatever.

3dly. Becauſe there is not any juſt pretence for granting any ſuch injurious or unconſtitutional power to the company; they having, by laws and inſtitutions already eſtabliſhed and now in force, a ſufficient remedy againſt any encroachments upon the privileges of their charter to the injury of their intereſts.

4thly. Becauſe if it is even pretended, that there are any miſdemeanours which the company is not empowered to puniſh, by any ſtatute now exiſting, which may render the reſidence of any Britiſh ſubject in India dangerous, or prejudicial to their intereſt, they may eaſily be prevented by the covenants entered into with the company, or ſpecified by the directors, and provided againſt by the wiſdom of parliament, in a regular, legal and conſtitutional manner, by ſome judicial trial on the ſpot, in order to intitle the company to the exerciſe of ſuch powers.

5thly.

5thly. Becauſe Britiſh ſubjects, going out and and ſettling in the Eaſt Indies with the licence of the company, carrying with them the rights and privileges not only of men, but of the Britiſh conſtitution, which, it is apprehended, cannot be ſurrendered to any company of merchants, ſo as to render their freedom and property dependent—not upon general principles of juſtice and equity—not upon the known laws of their country, but upon the arbitrary and capricious will of ſuch merchants or their ſervants.

6thly. Becauſe the granting ſuch powers to the company would be contrary, not only to the general laws and conſtitution of Great Britain, but repugnant to thoſe particular ſtatutes, or acts of parliament now in force with regard to the company; which ſeveral acts, reſpecting the power of ſending perſons to England, relate only to perſons going out to India without the licence of the company; and the preambles of the ſaid acts, plainly ſhewing it was the view of the legiſlature to give encouragement for perſons to go out, and reſide and ſettle at the company's ſeveral ſettlements.

7thly. Becauſe the mayor and aldermen, or judges of the king's court of record, in which all matters of property are determined, called the mayor's court, as well as the juries on all criminal matters at the quarterly courts of ſeſſion of Oyer and Terminer, conſiſt of free merchants, free mariners, and company's ſervants; and if this bill ſhould paſs into a law, all the members of the ſaid courts and juries would be reduced to ſo abſolute and ſervile a dependance upon the company, that the

the will of their governors and councils alone would influence or direct their deciſion, to the total ſubverſion of all equity and juſtice; which, it is preſumed, cannot be intended by the legiſlature.

8thly. Becauſe this bill, if paſſed into a law, would operate as an act *ex poſt facto*, reſpecting thoſe who have already gone to India under the former powers which the company poſſeſſed; and alſo as to thoſe who have become ſettled inhabitants of the different preſidencies in India, and who may have launched largely into trade, and other branches of lawful and uſeful occupations, under the aſſurance that the general protection of Great Britain was ſecured to them by the king's courts, without their being liable to be ſent out of the country, upon twelve months or ſix months notice; notwithſtanding they may have numerous ſuits, claims, or demands, for themſelves or others, againſt the Eaſt India company, or againſt the very men who are left to be the ſole judges when thoſe arbitrary orders are to be put in execution; which muſt ruin credit, by deſtroying all ſecurity.

9thly. Becauſe this part of the bill is calculated merely to favour the opreſſive and ſelfiſh monopolies in the trade of the country, which have prevailed there of late years, to the great detriment of of the true intereſt of the Eaſt India company, as well as of the nation in general; for the promoters of this bill are defied to ſhew any one inſtance, where the reſidence of a free merchant, free mariner, or company's ſervant, in the Eaſt India company's ſettlements, can be of the leaſt detri-

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ment to the ſaid company; on the contrary, the principles upon which the different charters have been granted, and the acts of parliament confirming them, invite European inhabitants from all parts of the globe; and this bill would leave foreigners under more favourable circumſtances than his majeſty's ſubjects, ſince it is admitted, by act 5 Geo. I. cap. 21. that ſuch perſons, not ſubjects of his majeſty, cannot be removed from the ſettlements, while they demean themſelves agreeably to the laws of the community, which is all that his majeſty's ſubjects are now contending for.

10thly. Becauſe the motives upon which the act of the 5th Geo. I. cap. 21. was paſſed, and alſo the motives upon which the act of the 7th of Geo. I. cap. 21. was paſſed, and upon which motives the preſent bill ought to be regulated, are artfully ſuppreſſed, and the reader is made to believe that theſe laws are actually enacted with a view to enable the company to ſend Britiſh ſubjects out of India, who were only carrying on the trade from port to port, or place to place, in that country; whereas the legiſlature never had any ſuch intention, which (as has been ſaid before) would have been contrary to the firſt principles of the eſtabliſhments. But the whole view of the legiſlature was to prevent Britiſh ſubjects from trading to and from the Eaſt Indies, or acting under foreign commiſſions, as a recital of part of the ſaid act will ſufficiently ſhew *, and a view of the whole act will demonſtrate.

* "And it is alſo provided by the ſame act, and by ſub-

11thly. Becauſe the great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects in the Eaſt Indies rather merit the attention of the legiſlature, to reſtrain the tyranny

ſequent laws, that all the goods, wares, merchandizes, and commodities, to be laden upon any ſhip or ſhips bound from the Eaſt Indies, or parts within the limits aforeſaid, ſhould be brought, without breaking bulk, to ſome port of Great Britain, and there be unladen, and put on land. Notwithſtanding which juſt and reaſonable proviſions and reſtrictions, ſeveral of his majeſty's ſubjects, not entitled under the ſaid act of parliament, have preſumed to trade into, and viſit the ſaid Eaſt Indies, and other the places aforeſaid, in foreign and other ſhips, intending there to load goods, and bring them into Europe, and land them in foreign parts out of his majeſty's dominions, to the great prejudice of the trade of this kingdom, and the diminution of his majeſty's cuſtoms, and other duties. All which practices being conſidered, his royal highneſs George prince of Wales, then guardian of the realm of Great Britain, and his majeſty's lieutenant within the ſame, was pleaſed, on the eighteenth day of October, which was in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hunred and ſixteen, to iſſue forth a proclamation (amongſt other things) ſtrictly charging and commanding all his majeſty's ſubjects not to ſerve on board any foreign, or other ſhips, with foreign commiſſions and colours, bound to or from the Eaſt indies, or any of the parts aforeſaid; or directly or indirectly to viſit, haunt, frequent, trade, traffic, or adventure into or from the ſaid Eaſt Indies, or other the parts before-mentioned, contrary to law. But notwithſtanding the prohibitions contained in the ſaid acts of parliament and proclamation, and in defiance of the ſame, ſeveral evil diſpoſed perſons have gone on to procure and obtain ſeveral foreign commiſſions and paſſes, and under colour thereof, or otherwiſe, have fitted out and manned ſeveral Engliſh and other ſhips or veſſels, and have ſailed with, or ſent out the ſame, to trade and traffic in the Eaſt Indies, or other the parts aforeſaid. Now, to the intent that ſuch colluſive, fraudulent, and illegal trade and practices may be prevented, and that ſo conſiderable and beneficial a branch of trade may be ſecured to this kingdom; be it enacted and declared, by the king's moſt excellent majeſty, by and

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and oppreſſions which have been exerciſed of late by the ſuperior ſervants of the Eaſt India company, in order to creat monopolies, than to allow thoſe ſervants any new extenſion of powers repugnant to the conſtitution, with a view to promote thoſe deſtructive meaſures, whereby many thouſands of Britiſh ſubjects muſt be expoſed to ruin, and rendered ſervilely dependent upon the governor and council.

and with the advice and conſent of the lords ſpiritual and temporal and commons in parliament aſſembled, and by the authority of the ſame, that if any of his majeſty's ſubjects ſhall, from and after the twentieth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen, ſail, go, or repair to, or be in the Eaſt Indies, or parts afore-mentioned, or any of them, contrary to the laws now in being, or contrary to the tenor of this act, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſo offending, ſhall be liable to ſuch puniſhment, as by any law or laws now in being, may be inflicted for ſuch offence.

And to the intent that ſuch offender and offenders may be brought to juſtice, it is hereby enacted, that it ſhall and may be lawful, to and for the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, and their ſucceſſors, to take, arreſt, and ſeize, or cauſe to be taken, arreſted, or ſeized, ſuch perſon or perſons, being a ſubject or ſubjects of his majeſty, his heirs or ſucceſſors, at any place or places, or where he or they ſhall be found within the limits or places aforeſaid, and the perſon or perſons ſo taken, arreſted, and ſeized, to ſend and remit to England, there to anſwer for the offence aforeſaid, according to due courſe of law.

And it is hereby further enacted, by the authority aforeſaid, that all and every perſon or perſons, who from and after the fifth day of February, one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen, ſhall procure, ſolicit for, obtain, or act under any commiſſion, authority, or paſs from any foreign prince, ſtate, or potentate whatſoever, to ſail, or go, or trade in or to the Eaſt Indies, or any the parts aforeſaid, every ſuch perſon or perſons ſo offending herein, ſhall incur and forfeit for every ſuch offence the ſum of five hundred pounds."

12thly.

12thly. Becauſe, by the charter of juſtice of the 26 Geo. II. it is there recited, that the conduct heretofore purſued had very much encouraged not only our own ſubjects, but likewiſe the ſubjects of other princes, and the natives of the adjacent countries, to reſort to and ſettle in the ſeveral towns of Madraſs, Calcutta, and Bombay, and other forts and factories, for the better and more convenient carrying on of trade, by which means ſeveral of the ſaid towns, factories, and places were become very populous, &c. &c. Which ſufficiently ſhews, that the acquiring of inhabitants, and carrying on the trade of the country, were principal motives for the different eſtabliſhments. And whereas by the ſaid charter, "the aldermen, or judges of the mayor's court, are to continue in their reſpective offices of aldermen for and during the term of their natural lives, unleſs their ſaid places ſhall be voided, or themſelves removed, in ſuch manner as is therein after mentioned." Therefore, if this bill ſhould paſs into a law, all thoſe wiſe and judicious inſtitutions of our anceſtors, to collect inhabitants, and to maintain the purity of the courts of juſtice, would be defeated; and thoſe courts of juſtice, when deprived of their independence, could only remain the engines of oppreſſion."

Every thing was thus prepared to bring this important matter to a full diſcuſſion before the houſe of commons; in the courſe of which many of the enormities committed in India, in conſequence of the company's abuſe of this unconſtitutional power, of ſuddenly ſeizing, impriſoning and tranſporting their fellow-ſubjects, would naturally have become

come the object of conſideration to the houſe; but but the promoters of the bill, conſcious of the badneſs of their cauſe, and dreading the conſequences of ſuch a diſcuſſion, took the more prudent part of agreeing to withdraw all the exceptionable clauſes and amend their bill, which, after being purged by the committee to whom it was referred, at laſt produced the act of the 10th of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An act for the better regulating perſons employed in the ſervice of the Eaſt India company, and for other purpoſes therein mentioned," in its preſent form, wherein there is not one word mentioned about the ſeizing perſons in India, and forcibly ſending them to England. However by the expunging of thoſe parts of the bill which were excepted to, reſpecting the extenſion required of thoſe pernicious powers, a diſcuſſion was evaded which might have led to the relieving of Britiſh ſubjects from the difficulties under which they now labour from illegal impriſonments in India; left as they are to ſhift for themſelves in combating laws of ambiguous and contradictory natures againſt a powerful and opulent company, under this farther diſadvantage, that damages, when obtained, will be "too trivial for the company to mind," and of courſe too trivial to prevent any wanton breach of the laws, or to prove an adequate ſatisfaction for injuries ſo ſuffered.

Various have been the abuſes practiſed by the Eaſt India company and their ſubſtitutes in Bengal, in conſequence of this pretended right of ſeizing and forcibly ſending ſubjects out of India, by ſuch acts of violence and outrage committed in the Britiſh ſettlements within the diſtricts of the charter,

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as ought to kindle indignation in the hearts of every well wiſher to his country and the human race, and draw on thoſe who have been guilty of them, the utmoſt vengeance of the laws.

Though lord Clive had inſtructions to conſult the council at large in all caſes, the power of ſuch determination was to remain with the noble lord and his committee. From this unconſtitutional and extraordinary appointment derived all the evils which ſeveral proprietors of Eaſt India ſtock had foreſeen. Mr. Johnſtone and Mr. Dempſter had preſented a memorial to the court of directors, thinking it their duty to forwarn them on this unprecedented and dangerous meaſure. Their prophetic repreſentations had then no effect, although events have ſo far juſtified their prediction, that there is now ſcarce one unprejudiced and well informed Eaſt India proprietor, who will not acquieſce to the general opinion, that all the diſgrace and the diſcredit of the company are to be equally aſcribed to the injudicious appointment of this ſupreme committee.

All the old ſervants of the company know, that when the noble lord and his ſelect men arrived in India, they found the company's affairs in a very flouriſhing condition; "Sujah al Dowlah beat from his dominions, and the whole mogul empire at our diſpoſal. Lord Clive himſelf who had been appointed, in conſequence of the alarm of the directors, on receiving the firſt intelligence of a war with Coſſim Ally Cawn, and who had for his private emolument increaſed their apprehenſions, acknowledged the proſperous condition of the company in a letter to Mr. Rous, dated Madraſs

April

April 17th, 1765, and indeed peace and tranquillity had been perfectly eſtabliſhed before the noble lord's arrival, in the provinces of Bengal, and the company's buſineſs was carried on with unanimity, as Mr. Vanſittart had laid the foundations of a free inland commerce, on which alone the proſperity of Bengal muſt depend.

Lord Clive himſelf diſcovered, while at Madraſs, that he had an augean ſtable to cleanſe in Bengal; in conſequence of the enormous preſents received from Niſim Al Dowlah, by the gentlemen of the deputation from the council of Calcutta, who placed that nabob on the muſnud in February 1765.

The preſents received by individuals in Bengal, from their firſt making of nabobs, to the year 1766, as far as come to the public knowledge, taken from a report of the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons, made in 1773, if not truly ſtated would appear hyperbolic. After lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta, with his truſty counſellors Sumner and Sykes, on the 3d of May 1765; ſo very rapid was their progreſs in inquiry, and ſo admirable was their intuition, that within three days they acquired a complete knowledge of the ſtate of the country; and proceeding under oaths of ſecrecy to each other, they found in every department of public affairs nothing but corruption and anarchy. They had no ſooner entered on the very important buſineſs of their extraordinary miſſion, than they reſolved to aboliſh all the treaties and connexions that had been ſolemnly entered into, a ſhort time before with the country powers; aſſuming to themſelves the entire adminiſtration of all affairs, civil,

judicial, commercial and political; annulling the legal powers of the general council, and rendering its monitors mere cyphers.

At a ſelect committee held the 7th of May 1765, preſent, the right honourable lord Clive, preſident, William Brightwell Sumner, and Francis Sykes, Eſquires. "Reſolved, that the following oath be taken by the ſeveral members of this committee.

"I. N. do ſwear that I will not reveal to any perſon whatever, any of the proceedings of this committee, until the ſame be laid before the council, or until this committee be diſſolved.

Mr. Alexander Campbell being appointed ſecretary, Mr. Edward Baber, under ſecretary, and Mr. William Rook aſſiſtant to the committee, the following oath of ſecrecy was adminiſtered to them.

"I do ſwear to be true and faithful to the truſt repoſed in me by the ſecret committee, and to reveal to no perſon whatever, the proceedings of that department, until the ſame are laid before the council."

In a letter from lord Clive to the ſelect committee are theſe remarkable paſſages: "I have the peculiar happineſs of finding myſelf aſſiſted by a committee of known abilities and incorruptible integrity."

"If we conſider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot heſitate a moment upon the neceſſity of aſſuming the power that is in us, of conducting as a ſelect committee the affairs both civil and military of this ſettlement. What do we hear of, what do we ſee but anarchy, confuſion, and what is worſe an almoſt general corruption?

"For

" For the ſpeedy ſettling of the company's affairs, the power ſhould be veſted in the hands of a few."

" I will not add to my fortune one ſingle rupee by the opportunities I might have as governor."

In an anſwer to this letter declared by Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes, at a ſelect committee held the 11th of May 1765, are theſe remarkable words. " We are urged, my lord, by the moſt powerful motives to that unanimity which you recommend."

" It will be our ambition to aſſiſt your lordſhip with our utmoſt abilities, in raiſing the company's affairs a ſecond time, from the deſperate ſtate into which they were ſunk through the luxury and corruption that prevailed among their ſervants."

Such a declaration became the diſintereſted, immaculate and incorruptible Mr. Sykes.

It ſeems Mr. Vereſt, when a member of lord Clive's committee, made no objection to the annulling of the treaties which exiſted in 1765, without conſulting the council. But his opinion was different in the year 1760, when he himſelf was member of the council, during Mr. Vanſittart's preſidency, and not conſulted by the ſelect committee.

He declared his opinion, in the following words.

" Mr. Vereſt begs leave to obſerve, that the board have been kept till now, entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the ſelect committee relating to the preſent revolution, and their motives of it; he therefore cannot pretend to judge how far ſuch a ſtep was neceſſary; but thinks that in an affair of ſuch immediate conſequence to the company's

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eſtate in theſe parts, the moſt mature conſideration of the whole board ſhould have been firſt had."

"He cannot be blamed, as member of this board, for expreſſing his diſſatisfaction, at being made a cypher of in ſo critical a concern."

The reaſons of lord Clive for transferring all the powers from the council to the ſecret committee, are explained in the following extract from the noble preſident's minute, at a conſultation held the 24th June, 1765.

"I know by experience, that diſſenſions in council have often fruſtrated the moſt ſalutary purpoſes, and that if I had conſented to ſit in this chair, poſſeſſing the authority of government equally with fifteen other gentlemen, the company would have ſoon found themſelves diſappointed in the hopes they were pleaſed to entertain of my abilities to render them ſecure. A ſecret committee, ſuch as I have now the happineſs of being joined with, was I thought the proper medium between abſolute power veſted in a ſingle perſon, and diſperſed in the hands of a whole board. It may be remembered, that powers equally ſtrong and extenſive were given to Mr. Vanſittart alone, and in caſe of his death or abſence, to Mr. Spencer and four other gentlemen, lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Meſſieurs Verelſt and Sykes: are they leſs to be truſted than theſe?"

"Whether the power of government is exerciſed with leſs abilities, integrity and diſintereſtedneſs by the preſent, than it was by the late poſſeſſors of each, time will determine."

The late eſtabliſhment at Banaras which had been juſt determined by governor Vanſittart and his

his council as expedient and beneficial for the company's affairs, was ſoon judged, by the noble preſident and his committee, to be neither neceſſary nor ſerviceable: and they accordingly reſolved to withdraw the factory, without the examination or proof of any fact, and without any information taken of the value of the object they were about to give up for ever. The company were afterwards ſo well convinced of the bad policy of giving up the zemindary of Bulwantſing, that in the year 1771, they were very anxious to regain it, in exchange for the provinces of Korah and Illahabad. In ſhort, at almoſt every factory, and in every department, the whole ſyſtem of the company's buſineſs was ſo ſuddenly obſtructed, ſubverted or changed, that the natives ſaw with equal ſurprize and contempt, that there was no ſtability in the meaſures of the company, nor any dependence to be made on their public treaties.

His lordſhip and the ſecret committee, obſerved that throughout Bengal, ſuch was the general corruption of the ſervants of the company, that nothing could be met among them, but immorality, diſſipation, rapaciouſneſs, luxury and venality, and that the ſettlement conducted as it was, could not have ſubſiſted another twelve month. They boldly aſſerted, that there were none holy to be found, to ſave Calcutta from impending deſtruction, except their own committee of ſelect and diſintereſted men.

Such was the general purport of all the repreſentations ſent home at this period, to the court of Eaſt India directors, by the noble lord and his committee; who from the ſecrecy of their proceedings

ceedings and correſpondence, gave what colour they pleaſed to every public tranſaction, and every private character. And became in fact the framers of the opinion of their conſtituents, who from their implicit faith to theſe repreſentatios approved of all their meaſures and proceedings.

The fact is, that on this committee firſt aſſembling at Calcutta, they found the objects of their miſſion ſoon accompliſhed. The country was in peace, trade in a flouriſhing condition. The revenues were in a ſtate of improvement, and every thing agreeable to the intelligence Lord Clive had received on his way when he wrote from Madraſs to his agents in London to raiſe money for him by every means they could, and inveſt it in India ſtock. Nothing therefore remained for the committee gentlemen to do in the great outlines of government, from which honour or emolument could be reaped, however unjuſtly, but upon ſuch a new ſyſtem of government, as being neither to be defined or underſtood, ſhould beſt ſerve their ſecret purpoſes.

All the oſtentatious profeſſors of the ſecret committee, who declared publicly their own diſintereſtedneſs and abhorrence of the rapid acquiſition of wealth; their illiberal accuſations of the company's ſervants in general, with their repeated repreſentations of the ſtrong neceſſity there was for immediately accompliſhing a thorough reformation, injurious as they were to the whole body, were carefully calculated to impoſe on the public, and ſuch directors as were not in the ſecret, by turning their attention at home toward objects of no importance, of the great ends of their miſſion, while

while theſe ſelect men built their reputations and fortunes upon the ruin of their fellow ſervants.

The lawful profits to be acquired by a fair trade when added to the emoluments of office, were decreed too ſcanty and precarious for rewarding the merits of this confederacy of reformers, which gave occaſion for the eſtabliſhment of their various commercial and oppreſſive aſſociations; ſuch as the private monopoly in partnerſhip, which commenced in June, 1765, between lord Clive, Meſſrs. Sumner, Sykes and Vereſt, each one fourth part, for purchaſing large quantities of ſalt, then in the hands of private merchants: and in Auguſt, 1765, the monopoly of inland trade in ſalt, beetle nut and tobacco, which had been planned by his lordſhip during his voyage to India, and was afterwards adopted, becauſe the noble preſident and his ſecret committee, found that to remove the inconveniencies of a free trade, it was neceſſary to veſt the whole in an excluſive company; according to their ſyſtem of reformation all gradation of rank to poſts of honour or profit in the ſervice was entirely broken through, or the pretence of want of integrity. From the number of promotions that were then made, and even ſome to the higheſt ſtations, it appears that a regard to capacity was out of the queſtion. In fact, every preferment was made from faction, private intereſt, or perſonal attachment.

It was intimated that from the want of honeſt and able men in Bengal, four gentlemen, raw and unexperienced in the affairs of Bengal, and unconverſant with the country languages, were brought from Madraſs and taken into council.

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Another diſintereſted combination of the gentlemen of the new council was, that of engroſſing the importation of cotton from the coaſt of Malabar. The extent of their engagement in this meritorious buſineſs was to the amount of about three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, which was divided into ſhares. It may be ſaid with great truth, that ſuch engagements were deſtructive of all the reſources of a trading and manufacturing community as a monopoly upon the neceſſaries of life, and the raw materials for trade and navigation have proved the ruin and diſtreſs of the wretched and induſtrious inhabitants. Yet ſuch were the boaſted merits and ſervices of the pretended reformers newly arrived from England and from Madraſs, who endeavoured to perſuade them it was owing to their meaſures that order had been reſtored in Bengal, whilſt their good example had checked the glaring abuſes of rapine and oppreſſion.

Mr. Johnſton had the courage to declare an open war againſt lord Clive, and his ſecret committee, in retaliation for the private injuries he had received from their partial adminiſtration. Mr. Verelſt, who through his lordſhip's manoeuvres, had the preſidency of Bengal in view, in prejudice to Mr. Sumner, ſupported all the meaſures of lord Clive, and general Carnac had determined upon. The other members at the council board, at this time, were equally paſſive in all the preſident's tranſactions, as none dared venture to give his ſentiments in oppoſition to any opinion of his lordſhip.

In the inſtructions which the ſelect committee gave to lord Clive, dated the 21ſt of June 1765, for

for regulating his conduct at the perſonal interview then intended with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, for the purpoſe of reſtoring that prince to his dominions, one paragraph was penned as follows:

"It will be neceſſary however, that your lordſhip obtain a full grant, in the fulleſt terms for carrying on a free trade through his dominions, with the privileges of eſtabliſhing factories, whereever we ſhall think proper, to which ſhall be annexed ſuch contiguous lands and diſtricts as may be found neceſſary to the convenience and ſupport of the ſettlements, we mean without charge to Sujah al Dowlah, or diminution of his revenues: but the keeping of Chunargur and other ſtrong holds, and protecting our commerce by a military power, is a meaſure concerning the expediency of which your lordſhip will judge, from a further inquiry into circumſtances."

In conſequence of this inſtruction, it was expreſsly ſtipulated by lord Clive and general Carnac, in the eighth article of the treaty of the 16th of Auguſt 1765, with the vanquiſhed nabob, that his highneſs "Should allow the Engliſh to carry on trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions." And in order to ſecure the attachment of Bulwantſing and to guard him againſt the reſentment of this nabob, whom he had betrayed in the time of action; by the 5th article, his zemindary was ſecured to him, under a fixed annual ſum, which in fact made him more dependent on the Calcutta government, than on the nabob to whom they choſe to make him tributary. After the adjuſtment of this treaty, it was ſuggeſted by his lord-

ſhip and the general, that the nabob had appeared extremely averſe to the eſtabliſhment of factories in his dominions. If we conſider the nabob's dependent ſituation, and the diſtinct juriſdiction of the rajah, theſe pretended objections could not have been applied to the company's factory before eſtabliſhed at Banaras, nevertheleſs this ſuggeſtion was afterwards uſed as an argument to juſtify the proceedings of the committee in withdrawing that factory; notwithſtanding the treaty of Auguſt 1765, continued in full force, and was confirmed by a new one dated November 29th, 1768.

At a ſelect committee held the 29th of October 1765, it was entered on the company's records, that Sujah al Dowlah had complained in a letter received by the noble preſident on the 28th of October, "that the buſineſs of his government met with great interruption from the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory at Banaras. Sujah al Dowlah had engaged to compleat the payment of fifty lacks of rupees to the company, upon being reſtored to his dominions; in pledge for this payment, he had depoſited two large cheſts of very rich jewels, in the factory of Banaras under the charge of Mr. Sage.

When lord Clive was at Banaras in the beginning of Auguſt 1765, he eſtabliſhed Mr. Chumner as his agent to bring off diamonds directly from the mines. In order to engroſs to himſelf this valuable branch of commerce, he gave orders to his agent to make very large purchaſes of them.

To a charge againſt lord Clive tranſmitted to him by the Eaſt India directors, his lordſhip on the 30th of March 1772, anſwered in the honourable houſe of commons, as follows:

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"The ſecond charge againſt me is a monopoly of diamonds. There are only two channels by which a ſervant of the company, can with propriety, remit his fortune. The one by paying the money into the treaſury of India and receiving bills upon the company, payable in England; the other by diamonds.

By the acquiſition of the Dewannee, and the ſucceſsful endeavours of the ſelect committee, the company's treaſury was ſo rich, that we could not have been juſtified in drawing bills upon the company. It was neceſſary I ſhould in ſome mode remit the amount of my jagueer. For this purpoſe and for this only, I ſent an agent into a diſtant and independent country, to make purchaſes of diamonds. Theſe diamonds were not ſent home clandeſtinely, I paid the duty upon them; and theſe remittances upon the whole, turn out three per cent. worſe than bills of exchange upon the company. This is all I know of a monopoly of diamonds."

The firſt diamonds ſent to England from this new channel were ſold in London in the year 1766, by Mr. Abraham da Paiba, who declared them to be upon the whole fifteen per cent. better than the aſſortments that were then received from Madraſs.

In the month of July 1766, his lordſhip and general Carnac paid another viſit to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, who with the rajah Bulwantſing, met them on the borders of the Bahar province at Chipporah. Strong injunctions were then made to the nabob for impeding the trade of ſeveral Britiſh ſubjects, and even for compelling them to quit the province of Banaras; and it was alſo recommended

commended to the rajah to lodge complaints againſt them. But the nabob having a perſonal regard for ſome of the company's civil and military ſervants was equally with the rajah averſe to the doing him ſuch an injury; on the contrary, intelligence was immediately ſent from Chipporah to thoſe ſettled at Banaras, of the ſecret meaſures that were thus carrying on againſt them. In conſequence of an order iſſued by the board of Calcutta to Mr. Iſaac Sage, the reſident at Banaras, directing him on three days notice to ſend Mr. Bolts, a gentleman of unblemiſhed character, who has experienced all the ſeverity and injuſtice of unrelenting oppreſſors, down to Calcutta by force, and to put a ſtop to his buſineſs. In conſequence of theſe inſtructions, on the 21ſt of Auguſt 1766, Mr. Sage, in company with Mr. Chumner, lord Clive's agent at Banaras, waited upon the rajah Bulwantſing, at his houſe called Durgakoon, and ordered him to put a ſtop to all the mercantile buſineſs of Mr. Bolt; the rajah inſtead of complying with this requiſition, ſent him private intelligence of it, with the ſtrongeſt marks of his diſapprobation of ſuch treacherous meaſures. It's Mr. Bolt's caſe and ſufferings are already known, and the iniquitous proceedings that obliged him to reſign the company's ſervice, well authenticated in a late publication, it does not come within our province to recapitulate the numberleſs acts of oppreſſion, which have deprived him of the fruits of his labour and induſtry.

It is impoſſible to conceive the meaning of the various orders which Lord Clive and his committee iſſued, to regulate the inland trade of the Ben-

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gal provinces, as by the convention of Auguſt, 1765, they had pretended to reſtore Sujah al Dowlah and the rajah Bulwantſing to the poſſeſſion of the reſpective diſtricts, they were pleaſed to aſſign them, if any faith could be placed in ſuch agreements, theſe princes were to be left to the government of their own territories. Conſequently the regulations of the preſidency at Calcutta could not extend to Banaras, whether lord Clive and the committee acted as governor and council or as nabob of Bengal. They had ordered all free merchants, with all the European, Portugueſe and Armenian agents from the interior country down to precedency.

Amongſt the abſurd regulations for the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, three Indian agents were appointed in preference to the Europeans. Thoſe chiefs of trade had immenſe ſalaries allowed them. At one time a law was enacted, prohibiting any of the inhabitants from going beyond the limits of ten miles round Calcutta, without firſt applying for, and obtaining the company's permiſſion. At another time, no merchant was permitted to purchaſe goods at the manufacturing towns without a licenſe from the governor.

Thus, under the ſpecious pretence of the company's advantage, and the good of the natives, the governing party ſecured to themſelves all the profits ariſing from the management of the revenues, the trade, and manufactories of theſe extenſive provinces.

In the general letter to Bengal, dated the 8th of February 1764, the court of directors, after obſerving, that the diſputes and difficulties relative

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to the country government, appeared evidently to have been occaſioned by the unwarrantable means of carrying on the private trade of their ſervants, in prejudice to the nabob, both with reſpect to the authority and revenues juſtly due to him.

At all the manufactoring towns, the gomaſtahs of the company had the preference; for no private gomaſtah could do any buſineſs among the weavers till they were ſerved. They alone decided all diſputes, and it it was under their ſanction that all oppreſſions were practiſed, whenever there was a company's gomaſtah eſtabliſhed.

At a period, that the company's ſervants engroſſed almoſt the whole produce of the country, The directors in a letter to Bengal, dated the 26th of April, 1765, thus explain their ſentiment with candour. "Treaties of commerce are underſtood to be for the mutual benefit of the contracting parties. Is it then poſſible to ſuppoſe, that the court of Dehli, by confirming the privileges of trading free of cuſtoms, could mean an inland trade in the commodities of their own country, to the detriment of their revenues and the ruin of their own merchants?"

In ſupport of the new and unaccountable meaſures purſued by lord Clive and his ſelect committee at Bengal, with reſpect to the inland trade, his lordſhip made the following ſpeech in the houſe of commons.

"Many years ago, an expreſſive embaſſy was ſent to Dehli, to obtain certain grants and priveleges from the great Mogul, in favour of the Eaſt India company, and amongſt others was obtained the privilege of trading duty free. The

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ſervants were indulged with this privilege under the ſanction of the company's name. The company never carried on an inland trade. Their commerce has been confined to exports and imports only. It is impoſſible that the ſervants ſhould have a more extenſive right than the company itſelf ever had: yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an inland trade duty free. The abſurdity of a privilege ſo ruinous to the natives, and ſo prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious. At the revolution, in 1757, no ſuch claim was ſet up; nor was any ſuch trade carried on publicly, or to my knowledge during my government, which ended in the year 1760."

Surely the courts who had the direction of India affairs, could not be ignorant that the goods provided for the company in Bengal were all commodities of that country. That every one of theſe commodities is occaſionally in export, and that an exemption from duties upon their inveſtment, was a diminution of the revenues of the court of Dehli, and tended to the ruin of their merchants. How could lord Clive ſeriouſly declare in the houſe of commons that there was no inland trade carried on in Bengal before the year 1760. Knowing that numbers of duſtucks had been granted for ſuch private trade previous to the year mentioned? The treaty made by his lordſhip in June, 1757, On ſetting up of Meer Jaffiier Ally Khawn immenſe ſums were ſtipulated for reſtitution of loſſes ſuſtained by the private merchants of Calcutta.

The noble lord, in the years 1765, and 1766, had in fact aſſumed all the powers of the great Mogul, and of the Eaſt India company. Conſequently

quently the mutual relation between the contracting parties was then at an end, and the firmaun boaſted of can have no validity, in the ſituation of Indoſtan at that period with reſpect to Bengal and its dependencies. The encroachments of the company's ſervants, which at a former period might have been beneficial under the pretended ſanction of the firmaun became ruinous the very moment the company took the ſovereignty of Bengal upon themſelves. It was to the freedom of trade that Bengal owed its ancient proſperity: and it has been principally owing to the want of that freedom that the condition of the people in Bengal has been worſe ſince the acceſſion of the company to the Dewannee, than it was before.

It is true, that the goods which the company imported were all ſold at the preſidency of Calcutta, and theſe they bought in the intetior country were all brought to Calcutta and exported. But in both caſes they have conſtantly given their duſtucks to the perſons who bought their goods at Calcutta to tranſport and ſell them duty free whenever they pleaſed; and to the perſons from whom they bought their goods, to bring them in like manner from the places where they lay, or were provided.

Is not this to all intents and purpoſes carrying on an inland trade? Yet we have ſeen even Eaſt India directors affect to adopt this modern diſtinction of articles for inland trade, and articles for foreign exportation; and while they are acting as ſovereigns of that country, they pretend to accommodate their regulations to the intention and

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ſpirit of the Mogul's firmaun, a nominal king of their own making.

The firſt principles of policy and commerce, muſt be invariably the ſame in all places, according to which every man has the right to buy and ſell, what and where he pleaſes, paying all legal duties, and ſubmitting to all lawful reſtrictions; and ſuch is well known to have ever been the practice in Indoſtan.

Although lord Clive had ſtrongly recommended to the gentlemen of his ſelect committee on the 16th of January 1767. The uſual caution of acting under the cloak of the nabob, to which Mr. Vereliſt and the reſt of the committee had reſolved on the February following to adhere ſtrictly, as this judicious ſyſtem had met with the approbation of the directors; Mr. Vereliſt and Mr. Cartier directed afterwards under hands and ſeals in the moſt authoritative ſtyle pervanahs to the rajahs and zemindars of the country.

The Armenians truſting to the ancient treaties of friendſhip and alliance with the company, were precluded from the benefits of a free trade, and of late every avenue to juſtice has been ſhut againſt them in Bengal. During the government of lord Clive, their reſidence in Calcutta was miſconſtrued as taking refuge from the country government, tho' the law of this pretended government was then no other than the will of the noble preſident. They were reſcued from the ſheriff's cuſtody, deprived of their right by charter, of appealing to the laws of England, and by military force baniſhed from a Britiſh ſettlement, for having brought their own reſpective cauſes before an Engliſh court of juſtice.

Before the regulations for the notorious monopoly of ſalt were made public at Calcutta, a ſecret partnerſhip was formed between lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Sykes; for engroſſing the ſalt then lying in the hands of private merchants. Before lord Clive quitted the government of Bengal, his ſhare of theſe ſalt adventures, under the management of Mr. Verelſt, and likewiſe his third part of another ſalt adventure; in partnerſhip with general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt were ſold by his lordſhip for a valuable conſideration to Henry Verelſt, Francis Sykes and Alexander Campbell, each one fourth, and to Claud Ruſſel and Thomas Kelſall each one eighth couran.

Upon the departure of Mr. Sumner for England, Mr. Verelſt had purchaſed with the reſt of that gentleman's concerns has ſhare in the ſalt adventures, ſo that the ſucceeding governor of Calcutta, and the moſt worthy reſident at the Durbar, had become the principal proprietors in theſe ſalt concerns; which were carried on, among other places, at Nattour, by the agency of Mr. Tom Lewis, whoſe ſervants broke open the warehouſes, and forcibly took away the ſalt of an eminent Armenian merchant, named Porſeck Arratoon, to the damage of 7,500l. ſterling.

The court of directors had in a letter, dated February 18th 1766, forbidden the general trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco, as a prohibition of the monopoly eſtabliſhed by lord Clive. He had himſelf, before he ſailed for India, repreſented to the Eaſt India directors and proprietors, that one of the great cauſes of the untoward ſtate of their affairs in Bengal, was the company's ſervants and others

others uſurping from the natives the inland trade in ſalt, beetle-nut and tobacco; and he therefore adviſed the prevention of it in future. This bait being readily ſwallowed, his lordſhip, with the ſelect committee were directed to reform that abuſe. What the directors meant to prevent was, the Engliſh trading in thoſe articles duty free, in prejudice of the natives. But no ſooner was lord Clive embarked for India, than he formed the plan of an univerſal monopoly in thoſe articles, to the total excluſion of the natives; it was afterwards carried in execution by the committee, chiefly to their advantage, ſo early, that the directors might have been informed of this tranſaction long before they received that intelligence.

Lord Clive could carry no orders relative to this trade, but what were agreeable to freedom; and no regulations in favour of Europeans could be intended to the prejudice of the Aſiatics, as it had been ſuggeſted by the noble preſident, that they were injured by the indulgence granted to Europeans; it is certain, that as ſoon as the directors heard of the eſtabliſhment of that monopoly, they gave poſitive orders for its abolition, and in every ſubſequent letter repeated them. Had theſe worthies of Calcutta thought themſelves really authorized to eſtabliſh ſuch a monopoly for their own benefit, they ſhould have deemed it neceſſary to bind one another, by a penalty of 300,000l. to an aſſociation, in reſiſting any orders of the directors for putting an immediate end to the buſineſs.

This ſecret committee of reformers, with their aſſociates, the declared enemies of all rapid acquiſitions of wealth, commenced their upright and diſinter-

intereſted adminiſtration in Bengal in May 1765. Such was their aſſiduity in accompliſhing their ſecret views, that Mr. Sumner relinquiſhed his pretenſions of ſucceeding to the government, and returned to England in December 1766, lord Clive and general Carnac in January 1767, Mr. Sykes, the Durbar reſident in November 1768, and Mr. Vereliſt, who ſucceeded lord Clive, and was not reputed worth ſix thouſand pounds in 1760, reſigned the chair on the 16th of December 1769, Mr. Alexander Campbell, one of the receivers, acquired a rapid fortune, by being made both aſſayer and mint maſter for the perfection of gold coinage; he was afterwards promoted to the important poſt of factor and member of the ſelect committee, he returned to England as early as the beginning of the year 1768. The other gentlemen, who came from Madraſs to aſſiſt the reformers of Calcutta were no leſs active and ſucceſsful in the acquiſition of riches.

The deception miſnud of Marſhadabad, circumſcribed and inſignificant as it had been rendered, from the admirable intuition of lord Clive and Mr. Sykes, ſtill afforded extenſive proſpects with a variety of objects that might ſtimulate the fordid knavery of ſuch men as were ſtationed to ſupport the illuſion, the enormous fortunes which have been ſuddenly amaſſed there, fully demonſtrate the great advantages which ſtill ſurround the Miſnud.

Theſe lucky upſtarts have experienced that "riches always procure protection for themſelves, dazzle the eyes of enquiry, divert the celerity of purſuit, and oppreſs the ferocity of vengeance."

There

There is a paſſage in the third volume of Dow's hiſtory of Indoſtan, which is not improper here.

"The princes whom we raiſed in Bengal vaniſhed imperceptibly from their thrones. Light and unſubſtantial as the ſhew of power, with which as in derriſion we inveſted them; they diſappeared like Romulus, but without a ſtorm. The benefits derived from former revolutions, created a love of change; and the angel of death, if not our friend, was very opportune, in his frequent viſits to the Miſnud! In the courſe of five years, three nabobs expired; and the unfledged ſovereign who ſucceeded to the nominal government of Bengal, in March 1770, has already enjoyed, conſidering the times, a long reign.

Nabobs to own the truth are uſeleſs; and they are diſmiſſed to their fathers without a noiſe."

In order to throw an additional light on the monopolies eſtabliſhed by lord Clive and his junto contrary to the intentions, and continued in defiance of the expreſs orders of the directors, we ſhall tranſcribe a few extracts from the records of the houſe of commons, as they ſtand in the reports of the ſelect committee, appointed to inveſtigate the tranſactions of this ſociety.

"Having thus ſtated the orders of the court of directors, your committee think proper to obſerve, that the ſalt ſociety which afterwards took place, appears to have been originally propoſed at ſea by lord Clive, during his paſſage to India; and the evidence upon which your committee ground this fact, is a letter from lord Clive to the court of directors, dated the 1ſt of February 1766.

And

And it appeares to your committee, from the evidence of ſeveral witneſſes here following, that in the beginning of June, being a few days after the arrival of Mr. Verelſt from Chittigong, and about the time of the third meeting of the ſelect committee, a private partnerſhip was formed in the names of lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Verlſt, and Mr. Sykes, for purchaſing large quantities of ſalt, then in the hands of private merchants. Your committee are prevented ſtating the extent of this tranſaction ſo fully as they might otherwiſe have done by Mr. Verelſt declining to anſwer a queſtion put to him upon that ſubject; becauſe, as he alleged, the court of directors had threatened him with a proſecution upon ſalt, &c.

Mr. Sumner being examined upon the ſubject of the above-mentioned partnerſhip, informed your committee, that ſome time in the month of June, 1765, Mr. Verelſt mentioned to him his having made ſome purchaſers of old ſalt, upon his own account, and at the ſame time, propoſed his taking a ſhare therein, together with lord Clive and Mr. Sykes; which the witneſs agreed to. That each of them had a quarter part, and that Mr. Verelſt undertook the management of the concern, and the keeping of the accompts: that the witneſs ſold his quarter to Mr. Verelſt about the middle of September, for a certain profit; that he had at this time advanced his whole ſhare of the money required for the purchaſe, amounting to 12.500l. &c.

Your committee then examined Francis Sykes, Eſquire, member of the houſe; who being aſked, whether

whether he remembered any partnerſhip between himſelf, lord Clive, Mr. Sumner and Mr. Vereliſt? ſaid, that a quantity of ſalt was purchaſed by them, the time he could not recollect, but he believed it might be about two months after their arrival, that the ſaid ſalt was bought of many black people, and many Engliſh gentlemen: Mr. John Johnſtone, Mr. Haſtings, attornies and others; that they bought it on their private accounts, and that it was ſalt manufactured the year before their arrival. Being aſked, why they dealt themſelves in ſalt, before they had proceeded to regulate the trade? he ſaid, he did not know that they did, previous to to their entering on the ſubject, or to the intention being publicly known. That this partnerſhip in ſalt was not ſold to the ſociety, but to the country people; that the gentlemen concerned were drawn upon for money agreeably to their ſhares; that the witneſſes proportion was about a lack of rupees; that the advantages of the ſaid partnerſhip, to thoſe who continued their concern, reckoning leſs of intereſt and balances, might be thirty per cent. He ſaid, he did not recollect who made the propoſal to lord Clive relating to his partnerſhip, but that his lordſhip was not concerned in it from the beginning; that it was begun by Mr. Vereliſt, that the witneſs afterwards accepted a concern, and that ſome time after lord Clive and Mr. Sumner did the ſame. And being aſked, whether lord Clive entered into this partnerſhip upon his own account, or for the benefit of other perſons? he ſaid he remembered very well that at that time lord Clive took the concern, he declared he would not benefit himſelf ſix-pence

by

by it; that he intended the profits which might ariſe from it, for Mr. Strachey, Mr. Maſkeline, and Mr. Ingham the ſurgeon, the three gentlemen who had accompanied him to India.

So far the parties concerned eſtabliſhed themſelves the truth of this confederacy, but the point which they were unwilling to confeſs, was the deed of indemnity, whereby the noble preſident and his council engaged, under an immenſe penalty to keep up and enforce the continuance of the excluſive trade in ſalt, notwithſtanding any orders of the court of directors to the contrary, and to ſave harmleſs, the committee of trade who were entruſted with the concerns of the ſociety, from the conſequences of ſuch diſobedience.

When Mr. Verelſt was examined, he artfully repreſented this tranſaction to have been no ſecret, and that every particular was entered at large in the proceedings of the council tranſmitted to the directors; to ſupport his bold aſſertions, he referred to the conſultations of the 16th of September 1765, whereon is recorded a letter from the committee of trade, conſiſting only of four members, whereas the copartners, Meſſrs. Sumner and Verelſt, made two, requeſting a deed from the preſident and council at large, then conſiſting of themſelves, with general Carnac, and the copartners Mr. Francis Sykes and lord Clive to ſecure to the proprietors, whom they had been pleaſed to enrol on their liſt, the excluſive trade in ſalt, according to the mode eſtabliſhed by themſelves.

On reference to thoſe proceedings, in the reports of the houſe of commons, it will appear, that every material circumſtance is therein cautiouſly ſuppreſſed,

preſſed, while from the words of the minute on the ſaid records, the reader is left with an impreſſion that ſomething was doing agreeable to the company's orders or intentions. Nevertheleſs, the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, having enquired whether the ſaid deed was tranſmitted to the court of directors, they found by the evidence of Mr. Michal the ſecretary, and Mr. Wilks, one of his deputies at the India houſe, that though an account was ſent, it does not appear in the books and correſpondence of the company, that the ſaid deed was ever tranſmitted to the court of directors; whoſe orders, the parties were in fact, at that time ſolemnly engaging to ſet at defiance.

The farther evidence given on this ſubject from the report of the ſelect committee of the houſe of commons was as follows:

"Your committee proceeded next to inquire into the nature of the deed, and into the tranſactions reſpecting the ſame. And your committee examined Mr. Richard Wittall, who being aſked, if he knew any thing of a deed to engroſs the ſalt trade, and to indemnify the committee of trade? he ſaid he was a ſworn attorney of the mayor's court at Calcutta; that in October 1765, Mr. Verelſt applied to him, and gave him inſtructions to prepare a deed of indemnity from the preſident and council of Bengal to the committee of trade; that he accordingly drew one up, on which upon being ſhewn to Mr. Verelſt, he having made ſome alterations, approved of it; that the witneſs afterwards laid a fair copy of it before the governor and council for their approbation; that by direction of the board he made ſome farther alterations and ad-

ditions in his own hands, and engroſſed it, and delivered it to Mr. Lawrell, the ſecretary to the committee of trade; that about ten days afterwards he waited on Mr. Lawrell, who deſired him to fill up the penalty, and alter the date, which was the 11th of September, to ſome ſubſequent day, to make it conſiſtent with the other deed from the ſociety to the committee of trade; the date of which had been altered before execution, from the 12th of Auguſt to the 18th of September; and being aſked, if he could ſpeak with certainty as to any time poſterior to which the deed referred to muſt have been executed, ſuppoſing it was even executed? he ſaid, that in the beginning of November he rented another houſe, where he was very certain both the deed referred to were engroſſed; and the ſeal which the deed from the ſociety to the committee of trade was ſealed with, he had from the owner of that houſe after he went into it; that to the beſt of his remembrance, he delivered both deeds to the ſecretary about the middle of November: about ten days after he altered the date and filled up the blank for the penalty; that he was therefore induced to believe it muſt be the end of November, or beginning of December, before either of them were executed; and being aſked, if he had ever ſeen either of them after they were executed? he ſaid, in September 1766, he waited on lord Clive, to receive inſtructions to prepare another deed; when his lordſhip informed him, that he had been peruſing thoſe two deeds, and which were then laying before him on the table; that his lordſhip obſerved to him, that there was not any valuable conſideration expreſſed, and asked him, if he thought them valid?

valid? that he ſaid, he could not aſcertain how far they were valid in law, but that he had prepared them agreeable to the inſtructions he had received. And being asked, if he was ſure the deed, if ever executed, muſt have been executed after the 15th of October? he ſaid, he was poſitive of it. And being asked with what ſum the blank for the penalty was filled up? he ſaid, he believed 300,000l. and that lord Clive talked of thoſe deeds to him as deeds executed. And being asked, whether he had any inſtructions to keep this tranſaction ſecret? he ſaid, he had not, but that he never did mention it to any body but Mr. Banks, which was in the year 1769; that he did not mention it, becauſe he thought it was a matter that ſhould not be made public, from the nature of the tranſaction, it being an agreement to carry on a trade contrary to the orders of the company. And being asked, what were his motives for mentioning it to Mr. Banks, after keeping it ſecret for three years? he ſaid, that talking to Mr. Banks, whom he eſteemed his friend, about a contract he had made for the committee of trade, he mentioned it in common converſation. And being asked, when and on what occaſion, he firſt mentioned the deed in England? he ſaid, that he mentioned it ſoon after his arrival, which was in November 1770, becauſe he thought it ought to be made public, and that he was not bound in honour to keep it ſecret; that he firſt ſpoke of it to Mr. Bolts, and in September 1771, was called before the court of directors to be examined about it.

Then Mr. Sumner being asked if he knew any thing of a deed entered into between the gover-

nor

nor and council, and committee of trade, to inſure the carrying on the ſalt ſociety for one year? ſaid, that ſuch a deed was entered into; the expreſs terms of the deed he did not recollect; but he ſaid, he conſidered it as an engagement on the part of the proprietors, to pay to the company certain ſtipulated duties, and on the part of the governor and council, to ſecure to the proprietors the carrying on that trade for the ſpace of one year, or to ſave and bear them harmleſs. Being asked, whether any mention was made of that deed by the governor and council upon record? he referred your committee to the conſultations of September 16, 1765. And Mr. Sumner being asked, whether the deed, which he had formerly ſaid was executed, was drawn up by Mr. Whittall? he anſwered in the affirmative.

Some days after the above examination, Mr. Strachey a member of the committee, produced a paper, which he ſaid he believed to be a copy of the deed of indemnity to protect the ſociety of the ſalt trade. That he ordered a copy to be made, when he was in Bengal in 1766, or January 1767; that the paper is in the hand writing of Mr. Come, who was in his office at that time; and that the names of the contracting parties ſubſcribed to it; and the indorſement, are in the hand writing of Mr. William Wynne, who was alſo an aſſiſtant in his office; and that he believed it to be the copy he ſo ordered to be made. And being asked, when he found that that copy was in his poſſeſſion? he replied, a few weeks ago, but could not ſay exactly. And being asked if he could ſay, that the deed was executed before the 15th of October 1765? He ſaid, he did not know when it was executed."

It

It appeared to the committee that a ſecond deed of indemnity muſt have been entered into with the committee of trade: but no ſuch deed appeared before the committee, nor can they diſcover any traces of it in the records of the company. It is certain, that after lord Clive and his ſecret committee had received repeated orders from the directors, for the abolition of this ſalt monopoly, it was nevertheleſs kept up, continued and enforced, agreeably to the engagements in the reſpective lord's indemnity; and even after the faith of the Calcutta government had been repeatedly pledged to the natives, by public reſolutions and advertiſements, for abolishing the ſociety, and encouraging them to embark again in the ſalt trade.

The noble lord and his ſelect committee relinquiſhed with great reluctance their favourite monopoly, and the hypocriſy which they practiſed, when no ſubterfuge was left them for evading the company's orders.

They had in September 1765, acknowledged, that the intereſt of the nabob, with regard to ſalt, was no longer concerned, as the whole of the duties belonged to the company, who poſſeſſing territorial juriſdiction, and having become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, were not only the collectors, but the proprietors of the revenues, while the nabob's power was kept up only in appearance. In ſhort, they had in the moſt expreſs terms acknowledged, that they had transferred all the powers to themſelves, and that there exiſted no other government in Bengal. Yet forgetful of what they had ſo lately written in the letter dated Calcutta January 24, 1767. Lord Clive, Mr. Verelſt, general

general Carnac and Mr. Sykes ſet forth the evils that would accrue from reſtoring the former freedom of this trade, in the following words. "We are now directed totally to renounce all ſhare in, and benefit ariſing from this trade; it muſt be made over to the natives; the government muſt of courſe come into poſſeſſion; nor can it be carried on otherwiſe than upon the ancient footing of farming it out to miniſters, officers, favourites, and dependants on the government, who will rear immenſe fortunes upon the oppreſſion and ruin of the public, in deſpite of our utmoſt influence and endeavours.

The intervention of ſix months having obliterated the recollection of that unavoidable ruin and oppreſſion which were denounced in this letter, the reſident at the Durbar, in Auguſt, 1767, tranſmitted to the ſelect committee the outlines of a plan for committing to the direction and management of the nabob's officers the ſale of all the ſalt produced in Bengal. The profits which under the monopolizing committee had been divided into ſixty ſhares, might have been thereby diſtributed among the miniſters and officers of the government, "a ſcheme which appeared ſo iniquitous, that it was chiefly on that account rejected by the committee; who now gave it as their opinion, that juſtice required the privilege of making ſalt ſhould be reſtored to thoſe perſons who formerly derived their ſubſiſtence from it, and who had no other means of providing for their families."

About the very ſame period of time, when the court of directors were framing their orders for reſtoring this trade to the natives, the noble projector

tor of the monopoly, anxiouſly ſolicitous to perſuade them to relinquiſh their deſign, and confirm the trade to the ſelect committee, as before; boldly repreſented to the court, "That the natives, having never enjoyed the advantages they propoſed to give them, would be aſtoniſhed at ſo unexpected and extraordinary an indulgence." Among other ſophiſtical arguments, his lordſhip urged; that it would be a convenient means for rewarding the ſervants and ſhutting the door to the ſolicitations of noblemen to provide for the younger branches of their families; which he repreſented as a meaſure that might be apprehended, if rewards were beſtowed from a commiſſion granted either upon the company's inveſtment or their revenues.

But the ſame noble lord, who had thus recommended a plan to exclude the ſons of the nobility; was the firſt man who had dealt largely to himſelf a commiſſion of one eighth per cent. upon theſe revenues, amounting to near thirty thouſand pounds per annum.

The very attempt to juſtify the monopoly inſtituted by lord Clive and his committee, is an inſult on common ſenſe: nor can a better argument ever be offered in its ſupport, than that which was given, with ſo great applauſe and ſucceſs, by the noble monopoliſt, in his own juſtification before the commons of Great Britain, drawn from the abilities of the poor natives to pay the committee prices for their ſalt, from their abſtinence, and parſimony in their food, apparel and edifices. His lordſhip's words were as follow:

"The loweſt wages in Bengal are two rupees a month, which is twenty-four rupees or three pounds per

per annum. The poor men can ſcarcely be ſaid to be at any other expence than for eating; they drink nothing but water; they wear no cloaths; their houſes are built with mud or clay, thatched with ſtraw. Now I leave the houſe to judge, whether the expence of from fifteen pence to two ſhillings and ſix-pence a year for twenty pounds of ſalt, even to thoſe, the very pooreſt of the inhabitants, can be a grievance." Lord Clive's ſpeech 30th of March 1772.

It has been mentioned that in April 1765, lord Clive at Madraſs diſcovered the very flouriſhing condition of the company's affairs in Bengal. By his lordſhip's account, in November 1765, their revenue, excluſive of all expences, amounted to one million, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterl. per annum, and his lordſhip with Mr. Verelſt and the reſt of the ſecret committee, aſſured the directors in January 1766, that the happy proſpect was daily opening to their view of ſecurity and opulence to the company; while money flowing into their treaſury, contentment expreſſed by the country government, and peace diffuſing its bleſſings, throughout every diſtrict of the nabob's dominions, were to them the moſt pleaſing teſtimonies of the meaſures they had purſued.

Among the great benefits derived from their government, they adviſed the directors, in December 1766, of the great addition that had already been made to the current ſpecie of the country, by their new gold coinage. And the committee were unanimouſly of opinion with his lordſhip, in January 1767; that the proſperity of the company's

pany's affairs in Bengal was fixed upon a ſolid and permanent baſis; that their revenues were increaſed beyond what they ever before produced, without oppreſſing the inhabitants; and that their inveſtment might be furniſhed, expences civil and military paid, and a large quantity of bullion be annually ſent to China, without importing a ſingle dollar.

Yet the ſame year of lord Clive's departure, Mr. Vereliſt his ſucceſſor and his committee, ſet forth at large in their letter to the directors, the untoward ſymptoms of the decline of the trade and currency of the provinces; the fatal effects of which they began to experience in the moſt alarming degree.

The gold coinage, which in December 1766, was repreſented to have added ſo immenſely to the current ſpecie of the country, was ſuppreſſed in July 1768, being one of the principal cauſes of the bankruptcy among the merchants, &c.

The ſame year Mr. Vereliſt and his committee further repreſented to the court of directors, that trade was ſtagnated, and the ſettlement in a ſtate of bankruptcy, that the moſt reputable men in the ſervice could with difficulty procure ſilver ſufficient for the payment of their ſervants wages; and that they expected ſhortly to be obliged, to collect the revenues in the commodities produced in the country, without having a proſpect of vending them at any rate, as the merchants would be totally deprived of the means to purchaſe them. They informed the preſident and ſelect committee of Fort St. George, that Bengal was in the moſt declining condition; that the company's new acquiſitions

had been placed in the moſt illuſory light, and their ſituation was then ſo critical and precarious, that they had reſolved to curtail the company's inveſtment, which they afterwards reduced to ſixty five lacks of rupees.

Mr. Vereſt acquainted the directors two years after lord Clive's reformation, that though they had then little reaſon for fears from abroad; yet the internal ſtate of the provinces was a matter of real concern; and unleſs provided for by ſpeedy and effectual meaſures, they muſt moulder into ruin of themſelves, without the intervention of any enemy. Yet this gentlemen after his acceſſion to the preſidency of Bengal, had wrote to the directors that the company's affairs were in the moſt flouriſhing condition, "the ſtate of which and the whole country was ſuch as afforded the moſt pleaſing aſſemblage of fortunate circumſtances, and of proſperous events, than had occurred at any period."

At a conſultation held the 16th of Auguſt 1769, the ſelect committee were unanimouſly of opinion, that the then ſtate of the revenue, public and private commerce, manufactures and agriculture, was ſuch as gave room for the moſt ſerious apprehenſions, and that the decline in each of theſe grand concerns had ſpread itſelf ſo as to produce a moſt alarming criſis in the company's affairs, and in a general letter from Bengal, of the ſame year, the directors were further informed, that, ſuch was the ſtagnation of trade and general decay of credit, that the moſt opulent among the native merchants or inhabitants of the preſidency, preferred locking their caſh up in their cheſts, to the lending it at intereſt,

tereſt, even to the moſt reſpectable character amongſt the company's ſervants.

Such were the bleſſed effects in Bengal of the boaſted regulations of the noble reformer and his counſellors, for the government of a commercial empire. Such was the ſucceſsful endeavours of this committee, alternately taking upon themſelves the buſineſs of merchants, ſoldiers, inquiſitors, judges, legiſlators, and executive magiſtrates during the tyrannical period of their adminiſtration.

Nor were the imputations of this committee, leſs injurious to the whole body of the company's ſervants civil and military; they had the injuſtice and effrontery to accuſe them of rapaciouſneſs, corruption, venality, and of every ſpecies of vice and immorality; and they ſo far impoſed on the directors, that in their letter of the 17th of May 1766, that court were weak enough to write to the noble preſident, as follows:

"We have the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of the deplorable ſtate to which our affairs were on the point of being reduced from the corruption and rapacity of our ſervants and the univerſal depravity of manners throughout the ſettlement; we agree entirely with your lordſhip, that the train of our affairs were then or would in a very few months have brought us to a moſt dangerous ſituation."

And yet ſuch had been the rapid and aſtoniſhing effects upon the whole community, of the wholeſome and ſeaſonable condition of the noble reformer and his aſſociates, who had firſt raiſed the clamour againſt them, that he pronounced firſt their panegyric in the Britiſh ſenate. After laying

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all their faults upon their benyans in India; the noble orator thus proceeds:

"Hence, Sir, arises the clamour against the English gentlemen in India. But look at them in a retired station, when returned to England, when they are no longer nabob's and sovereigns of the East. See if there be any thing tyrannical in their disposition towards their inferiors; see if they are not good and humane masters; are they not charitable? are they not benevolent? are they not generous? are they not hospitable? if they are, thus far, not contemptible members of society, and if in all their dealings between man and man their conduct is strictly honourable: if in short, there has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr. Foote to exhibit on the theatre in the Haymarket, may we not conclude, that if they have erred, it has been because they were men, placed in situations subject to little or no controul."

From the pretended dissolute state of Calcutta antendent to lord Clive's arrival, Mr. Verelst pretends to shew the necessity the select committee were under of reclaiming the junior civil servants from the debauchery in which they were immersed, by removing at a great distance the prospect of sudden acquired wealth, and also of lessening the incomes of subaltern military officers, for the preservation of order and discipline; which good and necessary reformations that gentleman represents to have produced such an universal discontent in one order, and mutinous spirit in the other, as threatened destruction to the English empire in Bengal.

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In another part, the ſelect committee deſcribed the immediate effects of theſe reformations to have been in the higheſt degree, diſtreſsful, having endangered the morals of the junior civil ſervants, from the preſſing ſcantineſs of their monthly allowances, and reduced the ſubaltern officers ſo low, that there was ſcarce a poſſibility of their ſubſiſting and maintaining the appearance of gentlemen, and rendered the officers who had reſigned or been diſmiſſed, the injured objects of diſtreſs and oppreſſion.

As the committee have magnified in other places the advantages of their information, and aſſumed to themſelves a great merit for their oeconomy in every department, we will collect together a few facts, and ſubmit them in one point of view, to the reader's judgment.

The firſt object which offer themſelves are the accounts current laid before the board at Calcutta, by the preſidents lord Clive and Mr. Vereliſt, on their reſpective reſignation of the company's government, and on Mr. Richard Smith's quitting the command of the army. Theſe accounts were exhibited in ſuch a mode, that if lord Clive's fortune had not been already made, and his reputation for diſintereſtedneſs eſtabliſhed, they might have proved the truth of his lordſhip's remark, that every man who is permitted to make a bill, makes a fortune.

By lord Clive's account, dated the 31ſt of December 1766, as it ſtands on the records of the company, it appears that the following charges were neceſſarily and unavoidably incurred on their account, viz.

1765,

1765, May 3d.			
For the expences of his lordſhip's voyage from England, until his arrival at Calcutta, excluſive of 3000l. paid for this purpoſe by the directors current rupees ——	73,489	14	4
1766, December 31ſt.			
For ſundry expences under the head of charges general, from his lordſhip's arrival in Calcutta to this day ——	99,629	12	0
For his lordſhip's table expences from ditto to ditto —	97,642	1	8
For his lordſhip's expences in cloaths and linen, from ditto to ditto — —	16,987	4	7
For wages to ſecretaries, aſſiſtants and ſtewards from ditto to ditto ——	19,722	11	4
For charges of feeding five elephants — —	941	14	0
For certain loſſes on the remittance of his lordſhip's jagueer.	8,375	4	1
For plate given to the Dutch governors at the Cape of Good Hope and at Chinſurch —	2,177	9	6
For the fortune with which his lordſhip was pleaſed to reward his faithful ſervant Edward Philpot, Eſq; ——	14,928	15	8
Current Rupees	333,895	7	2

Making

Making at the exchange of two ſhillings and three pence per current rupee, pounds ſterl.	37,563	5	4
Ditto for the following articles exhibited in his lordſhip's further account laid before the houſe of commons in March 1772, viz.			
For ſundry charges of ſalaries, table expences and wearing apparel — —	2,795	14	6
For ſundry other expences paid in England ——	1,846	5	7
For other fortunes given to the following gentlemen.			
To Henry Strachey, Eſq; —	15,942	16	11
Edmund Maſkelyne, Eſq; —	13,049	19	9
Samuel Ingham, Eſq; —	9,161	19	10
Edward Philpot, Eſq; —	2,196	15	1
Meſſrs. Wynne, Archdekin, Cowe and Duecrel — —	3,402	0	0
	43,753	11	7
	£. 85,958	16	10

The total amount of lord Clive's charges being eighty-five thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-eight pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and ten pence, which is ſaid to have exceeded all the emoluments reaped by his lordſhip from the ſalt trade, commiſſion on the revenues, preſents and perquiſites whatever, during his ſhort excurſion to India, in the ſum of 5,816l. 16s. 9d.

By Mr. Verelſt's account, which he has in imitation of his noble predeceſſor recorded in the ſame manner on the company's books, dated the 31ſt of October 1769, it appears his houſe expences, ſervants wages, &c. from January 1767, to October 1769, amount to current rupees 424,554, which at two ſhillings and three pence per current rupee, make ſterling 47,762l. 6s. 6d.

By colonel Smith's account, dated November the 9th 1769, it appears he gave away in preſents, which he graciouſly beſtowed on the Great Mogul, and on other princes and grandees of Hindoſtan, with whom he had long and intimate connexions, ſunnut rupees	124,606	0	0
And the colonel's table expences from the firſt of Auguſt 1766, to the firſt of Auguſt 1769, are ſet down at ——	187,200	0	0
Making at 2s. 3d. per current rupee, — ſterling	38,936	15	3

The next proofs of oeconomy we will ſelect from the revenue department, among which the firſt are the charges ſtanding on the company's books under the extraordinary titles of charges of convivial entertainments and maſquerade dreſſes for Engliſh gentlemen: and alſo under the head of ruſſum or cuſtom.

The

The charges under theſe diſguiſed titles ſtand as follow, April 1766.

The head of entertainments, ſicca rupees ——	45,373	2	5
April 1767.			
Under the head of dreſſes for lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, general Carnac, Mr. Harry Verelſt, Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Randolph Marriott, Mr. Hugh Watts, Mr. Claud Ruſſel, Mr. William Alderſey, Mr. Thomas Kelſall, Mr. Charles Ffloyer, a gentleman unknown, Mr. Edward Maskeline, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. Samuel Ingham, Mr. Henry Strachey and others —	46,750	0	0
April 1768.			
Head dreſſes, for Mr. Harry Verelſt, Mr. John Carnac, colonel Richard Smith, Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. Richard Bechan, Mr. James Alexander, Mr. Claud Ruſſel, Mr. William Alderſey, Mr. Charles Ffloyer, Mr. Alexander Campbell, Mr. Coart, &c —	79,681	4	9
Ruſſum, or cuſtom for Mr. Sykes's table —	24,000	0	0
For chairmen and porters for carry-			

brought forward	24,000	0	0
ing Mr. Verelſt, colonel Smith, Mr. Knott and other gentlemen with their neceſſaries backwards and forwards	35,915	0	0
April 1769.		59,915	0 0
The head dreſſes for Mr. Harry Verelſt, Mr. John Cartier, colonel Richard Smith, Mr. Richard Becher, Mr. Francis Sykes, Mr. James Alexander, Mr. Claud Ruſſel, Mr. Thomas Rumbold, Mr. William Alderſey, Mr. Thomas Kelſall, Mr. Charles Ffloyer and others — —		78,535	4 0
Ruſſum, for Mr. Sykes's table	24,000	0	0
For charges of bearers or chairmen, to carry ſundry Engliſh gentlemen backwards and forwards, and for poſtmen ſtationed to carry fruits to Calcutta —	64,472	13	0
		88,472	13 0
April 1770.			
The head of dreſſes for Mr. Harry Verelſt, Mr. John Cartier, co-			

lonel

lonel Richard Smith, Mr. Richard Becher, Mr. James Alexander, Mr. Claud Ruſſel, Mr. Thomas Rumbold, Mr. William Alderſey, Mr. Thomas Kelſall, Mr. Charles Ffloyer, Mr. Robert Maddeſton and others —		84,657 12	0
Ruſſum for Mr. Becher's table	24,000 0 0		
For chairmen carrying ſundry Engliſh gentlemen backwards and forwards	28,709 15 0		
		52,709 15	0
Total current rupees at two ſhillings and three pence ſterl.		£. 69,543 15	3

The few articles already before us, exhibited at one view appears as follow:

1756 Dec. To amount of the bills made by lord Clive		£. 85,958 16	10
1769 Oct. to ditto, by Mr. Verelſt		47,762 6	6
Nov. to ditto by Colonel Smith		38,936 15	3
April 1770 ditto, by the Durbar, preſident and members of the ſelect committee, &c. for charges of Aſiatic dreſſes, entertainments and travelling excurſions for themſelves and friends —		69,543 15	0
		£. 242,201 13	7

This

This ſort of excluſive communication was ever found by the company's governors in India, to be the grand ſource of their private emoluments; and however neceſſary or expedient the company's ſtanding order on this point might at firſt appear, yet there was never ſufficient checks eſtabliſhed in a buſineſs of ſuch moment to their own proſperity, and to the welfare of the natives of India.

The tranſactions of the company's ruling ſervants, from the firſt period of their interfering with the politics of India, have at all times afforded ſufficient experience of the neceſſity of ſuch checks. The abuſe of this excluſive privilege of communication with the nabob and his officers, was what principally provoked the reſentment of Sujah al Dowlah, which in June 1766, brought on the loſs of Calcutta. At this time, Mr. William Watts, the company's chief at Coſſimbuzar, was their political negociator at the Durbar at Marſhadabad, where, under the auſpices of colonel Clive, he conducted that conſpiracy, which in 1757, terminated in the expulſion of the nabob, and the acquiſition of the colonel's jaghire. His lordſhip informed the houſe of commons, that Mr. Watts employed two or three months in the negociation of that revolution; and that the correſpondence was carried on entirely between himſelf and Mr. Watts, and alſo there never was a criſis in which it was ſo requiſite for the company to be acquainted with the proceedings of their ruling ſervants; it appears by the ſame evidence, that the intercourſe which had been ſo carried on in cyphers, between the preſident and the reſident at the Durbar, it was not entered in the country correſpondence, or any where elſe."

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By this ſuppreſſion the company were left entirely in the dark, with reſpect to more than a whole year's tranſactions of the greateſt moment; but what is more extraordinary, ſuch papers as Lord Clive did poſſeſs, he did not think himſelf under an obligation to produce, as not relating to the commercial affairs of his conſtituents, whoſe dependance, according to his lordſhip's ideas, at the time which theſe papers related to, was transferred from the Indian government to a dependance upon himſelf.

When the patent of the jaghire was put into Lord Clive's hands by Juggat Seat, in the preſence of Mr Sykes, Mr Scrafton, and major Carnac, his lordſhip ſaid, "I confeſs it gave me the greateſt pleaſure to find it to be the lordſhip of the company's laws, becauſe the company was thereby freed from all dependance on the government."

The court of directors in their letter of the 24th of December 1765, complained to their noble preſident and council, of groſs ſuppreſſions in the country correſpondence, and that the copies thereof which was ſent home, were evidently unfaithful regiſters.

The intelligent reader will readily conceive the real cauſe of that jealouſy which the company's governors have ever ſhewn at any perſon's correſponding with the officers of the country government, except through themſelves; although the objections oſtenſibly urged againſt ſuch correſpondence have been, that it was contrary to the ſtanding order of the company, a degradation of the preſident's dignity, or an interference with his official department.

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The noble preſident, who in the tranſactions of his own, had ſeen and experienced the good effects of this excluſive communication, was bleſſed with a committee, who were the firſt to give examples to their fellow-ſervants of that unanimity, ſelf-denial, and diſintereſtedneſs, which his lordſhip deemed eſſential to the welfare of the ſervice. Within leſs than a month after their arrival at Calcutta, they reſolved that all intercourſe with the nabob, his miniſters, and the country powers, ſhould be conducted by the noble preſident.

When all communication was thus concentered in the governors and commanders in chief of the company's armies, they found it an eaſy task at alltimes to cauſe a revolution, to ſecure the commercial intercourſe of the company, as a jaghire to free them from dependance on the country government, while by the ſtroke of a pen, a loan could be changed into a donation or legacy, which might be converted into a fund for the maintenance of invalid or ſuperannuated officers, and their widows.

It is impoſſible to juſtify revolutions, atchieved by the ſervants of a trading community, uninſtructed by their employers; whilſt they lived under the protection of an Indian government, they did openly violate the peace ſtipulated with it; they entered into intrigues to promote treachery and diſaffection among the chief officers of the princes of Indoſtan; and effected by force and treachery all the infamous tranſactions mentioned before.

Mr Bolt aſſerts with equal boldneſs and veracity, that the plains of Plaſſey, on the 23d of June 1757, exhibited a ſcene of treachery and rebellious rout,

and

and not of a conteſted and glorious victory, that could of itſelf be made the illuſtrious foundation of an Iriſh barony; in whatever light it might have been repreſented, to impoſe on the ſovereign and the nation, happy it was for the company that the defeated nabob's numerous army made ſo little reſiſtance; that according to Mr Scrafton, there were only ſeventy men killed and wounded.

All the company's ſervants know that SHAW ALLUM, the impoveriſhed, abuſed, and deluded Mogul emperor, was placed on the miſnud to confirm Lord Clive's jaghire; colonel Dow deſcribed his ſituation as follows: "He keeps the poor reſemblance of a court at Illahabad, where a few omrahs in hopes of better days to their prince, having expended their fortunes in his ſervice, ſtill exiſt the ragged penſioners of his poverty, and burden his gratitude with their preſence."

The political manoeuvres of the company's ruling ſervants with the great Mogul, and the nabobs of Bengal, need no commentaries. Every body is now acquainted with the reaſons of the progreſs of Eaſt-India ſtock from the year 1765 to 1769, in conſequence of the very exaggerated and impoſing accounts tranſmitted from India, and the purchaſes of that ſtock made by Lord Clive. Thus were the proprietors deluded in voting an additional ten years grant of the jaghire for that noble lord.

If we conſider the operation of the ſalt monopoly; the ſudden fortunes obtained by the ſelect committee gentlemen, and the acquiſitions made by all his lordſhip's other friends, dependents and creatures, under the nominal princes of Bengal, together

ther with the powerful effects and ſecret advantages attainable by wealth from ſeats and ſuffrages in public aſſemblies, we may eaſily perceive how far the ſecrecy of emoluments, or pecuniary gratifications, were removed by the grant of the revenue to the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and he will not be at a loſs to diſcover the private advantages of the Dewannee ſyſtem, "called in deriſion, the double government."

At a ſelect conſultation held the 19th of February 1766, upon a complaint from their tool the deputy nabob, Mahomed Raza Khawn, of the oppreſſions practiſed by Gomaſtahs in general, the committee made the regulation, already mentioned, for all Gomaſtahs already employed in the inland trade, to be furniſhed with perwannahs by the preſident, in which were to be ſpecified the places of their reſidence, the buſineſs they were to be employed upon, and the time requiſite for each purpoſe, without which no man was to be permitted to buy or ſell. At the ſame committee they were likewiſe pleaſed to make a merchant of Mahomet Raza Khawn, to whom they intruſted the purchaſe of all timber and chunam produced in a whole province. In June 1766, for the further benefit of trade and circulation, they adopted the plan of a new and over rated gold coinage, which altered the ſtate of the currency throughout the whole country, effectually drained it of its remaining ſilver ſpecie, and terminated in a great loſs to the company: and at a ſubſequent meeting, they threw into the hand of their miniſter the whole opium trade of the province of Bahar.

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The noble preſident pleaded before the houſe of commons, in juſtification of his having adopted his plan, "That as the gold coinage was a ſubject very much out of his ſphere, that he was totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy, and the mixture of metals: and that he did not receive a farthing advantage from it. An honourable member preſent oppoſed to the apology of his lordſhip, the comparative caſe of a quack doctor, who had opened a principal artery, and of the death of his patient, endeavoured to juſtify himſelf upon his ignorance of anatomy."

In order to make a ſhew of their great regard for the poor induſtrious natives, at another committee held the 15th of Auguſt, upon private information taken from one Caſſinaut, in a ſummary way, peculiar to themſelves, they collected from a number of merchants, who were accuſed of ſelling ſalt at prices exceeding the rates eſtabliſhed by the committee, no leſs a ſum than 41,535 rupees; but they kept it for ſuch good and charitable purpoſes as the governor and council ſhould direct.

At their meeting of the 10th of September, 1766, when they reſolved upon calling all company's ſervants and other Europeans from the inland country and the ſubordinate factories, it was pretended to be only meant for ſecuring the neceſſary authority to the government and protection to individuals. But they excepted from this order ſuch perſons as they were pleaſed, upon the ſame pretences, while, out of regard to their own agents, particularly thoſe employed in the ſalt buſineſs; at a committee of the 7th October 1766, they cancelled certain penalty bonds, which two of thoſe

agents had given for their good behaviour, and were alſo graciouſly pleaſed to indulge thoſe gentlemen with the privilege of trading duty free.

Such was the facility in the operations of arithmetic and the indulgence in the auditors of accounts, the happy effect of that unanimity at the public boards, which had been ſo frequently and deſervedly commended by lord Clive, Mr. Verelſt, and the reſt of the ſelect committee at Calcutta. Not only the charges of theſe extraordinary accounts were paſſed without the neceſſary vouchers, but his lordſhip and Mr. Verelſt were ſuffered, equally uncontrouled to fix their own value upon the pearls, rubies, emeralds, and diamonds which they were pleaſed to inſert in thoſe accounts as received in preſents.

As to colonel Smith's account, it had been always the practice of the Indian princes to return to the Engliſh ſudars or commanders three times the value of what they received in complimentary preſents; but from the reſpective accounts of governor Verelſt and the general, it ſeems that their notions of ſupporting the company's dignity were diametrically oppoſite, for while the parſimonious governor appears to have conferred nothing upon the country princes, the general appears to have been above receiving any thing from them on the company's account.

The convival entertainments mentioned before, call to our minds the condition of the ſubjugated Aſiatic provinces, under the degenerated Romans, during the luxurious and corrupt ſtages of that empire. We read in Plutarch's life of Mark Anthony, "That he gave his cook the houſe of a magnatian

tian citizen, for dreſſing his ſupper according to his taſte.

The reports before the houſe of commons afford many other proofs of the ſame ſpecies of oeconomy in the Bengal government after they took the Dewannee from the year 1765 to 1770; during which period we have many inſtances of conſiderable ſums being alienated from the company's eſtate or revenues, and given without due authority, to the dependents of gentlemen of power and influence. Of this kind appears even many conſiderable jagueers, granted to a variety of people from the nominal nabob's deputy, Mahomet Raza Khawn, down even to colonel Smith's benyan. Fifty villages were granted to him in the name of Roy Kelloram. Of this ſort appears alſo the penſion of eighteen thouſand rupees per annum, collected in the Bahar provinces, by the ſingle appointment of lord Clive, for Almad Yar Khawn Laity; concerning which, when Mr. Vereliſt's ſucceſſion, and the ſelect committee inquired of the ſuperviſor of that province, on what pretence a ſeparate collection was made for that ſum: all that Mr. Alexander could learn was, that Laitly was a man of diſtinction, whoſe houſe and family had been plundered, by the nabob Jaffier Ally Khawn; Mr. Alexander had been miſinformed, for it was another Laitly whom Meer Jaffier plundered. And of this kind alſo appears the remiſſion of duties upon a large quantity of ſalt, to the amount of 47,769 rupees, by order of the nabob to Ghiſaul, without any reaſons being aſſigned for it. Inſtead of 30 rupees per hundred maunds of ſalt, he paid only 9 1-half per cent.

While

While meaſures ſimilar to theſe were tranſacted in every part of the provinces, under the country government, it was not extraordinary that the court of directors ſhould ſoon experience that the Dawanee collectors ſcarce anſwered any other purpoſe than defraying the civil and military charges of their preſidency of Bengal. But this ſort of buſineſs being for a long while under the management of the preſident and members of the ſecret committee, and the directors being neceſſarily unacquainted with the diſguiſed or real names and connections of the perſons mentioned in the records which the committee was pleaſed to tranſmit from India; that court have been frequently as deſtitute of materials wherewith to trace a fact, or check deceptions of this ſort, as if no accounts had been ſent them. For example, when they ſaw tranſactions of ſuch a nature upon their books, how could they divine that the before-mentioned Laitly was the brother of the late Khode Laitly, who was Meer Jaffier's competitor for the muſnud, upon the expulſion of the nabob, Sujah al Dowlah. This is the man mentioned by Mr. Watts, as a conſiderable perſon, who had offered himſelf as nabob, but who was rejected by colonel Clive in favour of Meer Jaffier, "As his abilities were greater, his reputation better, and his connections more extenſive than thoſe of Lailty." How could the court of directors conjecture that Gloſaul was a child, and the ſon of Mr. Verelſt's banyan? Or how could they gueſs that Roy Kelloram was banyan to colonel Smith.

The public viſits, embaſſies, or deputations to and from the princes and miniſters of the country

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lally with this uſeleſs and unwarranted profuſion while Bengal was governed by this committee of informers; the moſt notorious tranſaction of this kind, was the excurſion of Mr. Cartier, colonel Smith, and Mr. Cloud Ruſſel, in November 1768, to the court of the nabob Sujah al Dowlah; it was pretended for the purpoſes of this embaſſy, that this prince was meditating hoſtilies againſt the Engliſh; and theſe memoirs were corroborated principally by colonel Smith's letters to the preſidency, were at length made the baſis of a new treaty; by which that nabob was reſtricted to a number of forces which he never had on foot. At a time when the preſident and ſelect committee were conſtantly complaining to the directors of the low ſtate of the company's finances, near four lacks of rupees were diſſipated upon this deputation, as preſents neceſſary for ſupporting the honour of the company; whoſe dignity was again on this occaſion, ſo punctiliouſly conſidered, that no returns were received by the deputies on the company's account. The court of directors have of late ſeen through this farce.

If the proofs already produced be not deemed ſufficient in the opinion of any impartial reader, to ſet in a true light, the demerits of the committee, or the points of abuſe of authority in their public ſtations, iniquitous deceptions and concealments, and profuſion of the public money, let him peruſe the 4th report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, on the ſubject of the celebrated Malcot; he will ſee there a tax eſtabliſhed, that was unlimited in its extents, becauſe the conſciences of the collectors were the only meaſures of its neceſſity

ceſſity, and equitable in its operations, becauſe their own accounts were the only checks upon the collectors; he will there ſee large ſums acknowledged to have been collected by a mode, deſtructive of the manufactories and agriculture of the country, and productive of ſuch ſcenes of iniquity, oppreſſion, and peculation, as are far beyond deſcription; while the harmleſs ſubjected inhabitants, deprived of the protection of their native princes, have had no other reſource left them, but to heaven for juſtice; and he will likewiſe there diſcover, that this wicked mode of collection was originally eſtabliſhed by lord Clive and the ſelect committee.

But the Malcoat collection was continued, and increaſed to an amazing extent after his lordſhip's departure; and from the ſums thereby levied upon the poor natives, was diſcharged the debts which had been contracted at the Durbar for the charges of the dreſſes and entertainment of Engliſh gentlemen, under the heads already noticed; while the accounts of thoſe extraordinary charges were audaciouſly concealed from the knowledge of the company; ariſing, as the preſident apprehended, from the fear the gentlemen of the ſelect committee had, that the company would not permit ſuch an expence to be kept up, notwithſtanding it was deemed ſo neceſſary in the eyes of the country people, and always held in the utmoſt veneration.

It would be an endleſs taſk to follow the noble preſident and his ſelect committee of Calcutta through the labyrinths of contradiction, inconſiſtency and wilful deception, which they practiſed to obtain unmerited honours and emoluments to themſelves,

ſelves, while they impoſed upon fluctuating and ignorant courts of directors, to the injury of the Eaſt India proprietors and the public, and to the diſhonour and prejudice of their fellow ſervants.

The reader has ſeen ſome of the many righteous means by which Bengal was governed under their adminiſtration; and the operative effects of that government have been ſhewn, by the teſtimony on record, of thoſe moſt concerned in it, to have been no other than the ſudden reduction of a whole nation from a high pitch of affluence and proſperity to the loweſt degree of miſery. Where then will be the ſenſations of benevolent minds, when upon the ſame records, they ſee thoſe effects deſcribed to have been produced by counſels and regulations founded on the moſt conſummate wiſdom and juſtice? yet ſuch were the repreſentations which in the midſt of the diſtreſſes of their ruined country, the poor tools of nabob's were forced to give, while "The mouths of every body were full of the praiſes of the noble governor and gentlemen of the council for their judicious and upright management of the affairs of the empire, and their regard for the welfare of it's inhabitants."

In the direction of all the matters concerning the political intereſts of the company, the correſpondence of late years, with the princes of India, has been confined ſolely to the preſidents or ſelect committees, to whom the court of directors have at different times, thought proper to intruſt the conduct of their ſyſtem. On this principle, by a fixed regulation for practice, called a ſtanding order, in the company's ſervice; ſuch correſpondence, has been uſually carried on through the channel of

of the governor only, with directions for him to lay the copies thereof before the board; and this he has generally performed in ſuch manner and at ſuch times, as he deemed neceſſary and convenient. Upon this ſyſtem it is plain, that the Aſiatic princes muſt naturally look up to the governor, as the ſole adminiſtrator of all juſtice, protection, and power under the company; contrary to every principle of the Britiſh government. And the governor being under little or no controul, in this buſineſs, the board at Calcutta, or the directors in England, have never had any ſtronger check, than his integrity for their ſecurity in obtaining any knowledge of the ſtate of the negociations with the country powers, on which their all depended.

On the 22d of October this enlightened committee alſo made a regulation to confine the trade of all Europeans to certain articles, they compoſed a moſt ridiculous liſt under the denomination of exports from the preſidency and factories; and all trade from one part to another of thoſe extenſive territories was abſolutely prohibited, on pain of confiſcation of the goods to be appropriated at the pleaſure of the committee. A few days afterwards, they likewiſe committed the ſuperintendence of this buſineſs to their tool Mahomed Raza Khawn, who was directed to cauſe all pervannahs to be immediately regiſtered, and without delay, to ſend down to Calcutta, all ſuch perſons as could not produce a proper authority for their trade and reſidence in their provinces, while a number of military guards were ſtationed at divers places called chockeys, for the collection of duties. And further, on their own ſubjection that the country would

would not produce ſo much raw ſilk as the company had required for Europe, while private merchants were permitted to deal in that article. At a committee held the 27th of December 1766, they were alſo pleaſed to reſtrain or prohibit all trade in that commodity alſo.

Upon the inland or circular traffic of the Bengal provinces, wholly depended the proſperity of their external commerce, and the annual liquidation of a large balance in their favour, from the adjacent and other diſtant countries, whoſe merchants were uſed yearly to reſort to their frontiers; and whatever merchants carried on this circular trade, muſt have been quite immaterial ſo long as they peaceably conformed to the laws of the country and paid the eſtabliſhed duties.

Yet without any diſtinction made in theſe points the wiſdom of the Calcutta legiſlators, diſcovered in general, that the circular traffic of Bengal was particularly pernicious. The inland trade carried on by the French, they likewiſe deemed an encroachment; and as, if expreſsly for the purpoſe of preventing the reflux of wealth from the interior parts of Indoſtan, they gave directions to their collector at Patna, for ſtopping all trading boats that ſhould attempt to paſs the frontiers of Bahar.

To crown the whole of ſuch proceedings; at a ſelect committee held the 29th of December 1767, they formed a ſet of regulations for conducting the inland trade of the country, which their reſident at the Durbar was directed to enforce, as uſual, under the pretended authority of the nabob, without making the company appear as principals,

merely to prevent the trade of the other European nations.

The ſtationing of ſoldiers at Chockeys, for the collection of duties, afforded the moſt favourable opportunities for the practice of every ſpecies of fraud and impoſition by the Chokeyders and others, who availed themſelves of their uncontrouled military authority, to detain the goods of the merchants, and to extort what ever ſum they pleaſed for their releaſement. Such was the effect of the practices conſequent of this wiſe eſtabliſhment of military guards for the purpoſes of commerce and revenue; they naturally contributed to render every part of the fruitful provinces of Punea, a waſte and habitation of wild beaſts.

The fatal effects of all thoſe impolitic and miſchievous regulations were alſo ſoon very ſenſibly felt by the company in England, inſomuch, that from the moſt accurate accounts drawn up by order of the directors, it appeared, that on the cargoes of 30 ſhips brought from Bengal, during the five years ſubſequent to the aſſumption of the dewannee, the prime coſt of which was 3,037,266l. the company had only gained 680,502l. whereas they had gained 930,700l. upon the inveſtments of only 1,642,180l. that had been imported in 20 ¾ ſhips during the five preceding years.

So that notwithſtanding the high encomiums the which the noble preſident and ſelect committee had paſſed on their virtues and abilities, and particularly on their great attention to the company's intereſt in the vaſt increaſe of their inveſtment, the court of directors were forced to complain that their ſhips were returned from Bengal with ſuch depri-

depreciated fabrics, that ſome of them ſcarce produced their original coſt. They have been ever ſince loſing upon the whole of their calico-inveſtment from that precedency.

Regulations were conſtantly penned with the greateſt appearance of diſintereſtedneſs, and regard to the welfare of the community; one ſhould think from the ſpecious gloſſes with which they were diſplayed, that the poor natives of Bengal had been of late years the happieſt people upon earth; but there were no effective courts appointed to enforce the execution, or puniſh the tranſgreſſions of ſuch regulations; both which were alſo reſerved to the diſcretion or caprice of the preſident and ſelect committee. The progreſs of theſe regulations in Calcutta had been no other than their ſecretary's cauſing notices on papers, to be paſted up at the doors of the council houſe, the major's court, and the fort; containing copies of the reſolutions of the board, and ſometimes imperfect tranſlations of them, made by their banyans, into the Bengal language, ſeldom intelligible to the natives; which after the firſt rain or wind had diſperſed or defaced them, was thought no more of. The ſame was the progreſs of theſe regulations in the interior provinces, where they were tranſmitted to their reſident at the Durbar, and to the Indian collectors, who acted under their inſpection at the ſubordinate factories; while the governing ſervants of the company, who enacted as well as thoſe who were to enforce or ſuperintend execution of ſuch laws, were conſtantly the firſt and moſt intereſted in breaking them. The decline of the interior traffic of Bengal muſt be dated from the firſt period of the

the company's directors and governing ſervants interfering in the regulations thereof, which were equally contrary to the laws and cuſtoms of Indoſtan, as to thoſe of Great Britain; they were alſo as repugnant to reaſon, as tyrannical.

All theſe pernicious meaſures induced the court of Eaſt India directors by their orders to the intended ſupervifors, to reſtore the trade in ſalt to the former footing, by opening it to all perſons, as well as natives as Europeans. At length, their eyes were ſo well opened, that they aboliſhed duſtucks, and gave ſuch orders as have in a great meaſure revived the drooping manufactories, and retrieved the loſt branches of the frontier traffic of the Bengal provinces; but the ſame letters, which contained their orders for the freedom of trade, and the protection of the natives, conveyed ſuch other powers to their preſident and council, as muſt naturally have rendered thoſe orders wholly ineffectual, as long as the directors empower their ruling ſervants in India, to ſeize, impriſon, and ſend forcibly to England, Britiſh ſubjects; trade will be at a low ebb in Bengal, and theſe provinces will be brought nearer and nearer to their deſtruction, if effectual methods are not ſpeedily taken, to prevent ſuch violences, to enable the injured more eaſily to obtain relief, and to reflect exemplary puniſhments on ſuch oppreſſors.

Although Britiſh ſubjects allured by hopes of wealth, now tamely emigrate to India, bound by covenants to ſlaviſh acquieſcence under the vileſt acts of tyranny; and although ſuch uſurped powers have not yet been cancelled by parliamentary authority; yet theſe iniquitous practices, are not only

only repugnant to the perſonal rights of men, the equity of ſervice, the ſecurity of credit and private property; but likewiſe to the true intereſt of the company, the welfare of the ſubjugated provinces and the good of this kingdom.

The ruinous ſituation to which the Bengal provinces were reduced from the year 1765 to 1770, was owing to the perſons intruſted with the government, being placed in ſituations under little controul; or ſuch, in fact, as freed them from every reſtraint, and enabled them to ſet themſelves above all law whatever, contrary to every principle of the Britiſh conſtitution. Perhaps, wherever there are evils under which the governed labours, they may be generally deduced from a ſimilar cauſe in every community; but if the governors in Bengal were under little controul before, the legiſlature hath ſince placed them under much leſs.

By the late act of parliament, of the 13th George III. the governor or general, the council, and the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature, eſtabliſhed in Bengal, are indeed reſtrained from trading or receiving preſents; and the ſame ſort of reſtraint is laid upon all perſons employed in the collections of the revenues or the adminiſtration of juſtice: their agents or ſervants; there are alſo among others, ſeveral wiſe and excellent proviſions therein made for the trying of all matters in the ſupreme court of judicature, by juries of Britiſh reſidents, for the rendering of written evidence, taken in Bengal, in certain caſes of equal validity with *viva voce* evidence in England, and for the trying in his majeſty's court of king's bench, miſdemeanors as may be committed in India by the

ſaid

ſaid governor and council general, the chief juſtice or the judges of the ſaid ſupreme court in Bengal, or by any perſons employed in a civil or military ſtation or capacity there, or in any other part of India.

But at the ſame time that theſe ſalutary regulations are made, the ſaid governor general, the council and the judges making together nine men, to whom all the powers of legiſlation and executive government are delegated, are freed from ſuch indictments, informations, arreſts, or impriſonments, as their fellow ſubjects are liable to in Aſia; whereby the legiſlation hath effectually confirmed the doctrine of Lord Clive's adminiſtration, that "Oppreſſion committed by the preſident and council were not cognizable by any civil authority in India." It hath been ſhewn, that the noble lord Clive was the firſt governor who ever preſumed to reſtrain a man lawfully reſident under the ſanction of the Britiſh laws in Bengal, from trading; and he and his ſelect committee were the firſt who ſyſtemmatically adopted the ruinous and iniquitous practice of ſudden ſeizures, impriſonments, and tranſportations; and it is remarkable, that by this act, the governor and council alſo are intruſted with ſuch powers of with-holding licences for trade, or reſidence in India, or for ſending men forcibly to England, within twelve months; as conſidering the ſituations of the Britiſh reſidents in that part of the world, are equivalent to the power of ruining any man at will; and ſuch, as if ſanctified by the cooperation of the four judges, might effectually ſecure them under any breach of the law, and protect them in any act of tyranny or rapine. In this ſituation, the lands, the perſons, and the properties

ties of the millions of induſtrious inhabitants in the Bengal provinces, as well as the neighbouring princes are by the Britiſh laws left to the mercy of nine men, who if they ſhould prove as unanimous and ſucceſsful in their operations, as the laſt ſelect committee of Bengal, might renew the ſame devaſtation, with like emoluments and equal impunity to themſelves.

With reſpect alſo to the regulations on this act which relate to commerce, had they been dictated by the late noble preſident and the members of his committee, they could not have been better calculated to ſcreen their own oppreſſions and blunders. The diſtreſs under which the commerce of Bengal has long laboured, has been proved to have been principally occaſioned by the fetters and reſtrictions which had been impoſed on its inland trade; yet, by this act of parliament, that trade has been cramped by regulations as impolitic as thoſe under which it before laboured.

By one clauſe, Britiſh ſubjects are abſolutely prohibited from trading in ſalt, beerle-nut, tobacco, or rice, except for or on account of the company; although they never traded in thoſe articles in Bengal, the monopoly of which muſt inevitably prove more deſtructive to the country than any trade of individuals in theſe articles.

By the ſame clauſe likewiſe, ſubjects under a certain deſcription are prohibited from purchaſing any goods or commodities by way of traffic, within the provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, to ſell the ſame again within the ſaid provinces; nevertheleſs, it is provided in the ſubſequent clauſe, that all perſons, not otherwiſe prohibited by the act may carry

ry on trade within Fort William and the town of Calcutta.

In the next clauſe it is provided, that ſuch perſons as are reſtrained by the act from carrying on any trade ſhall not be thereby prohibited from collecting in their outſtanding debts, or from ſelling or diſpoſing of the merchandizes and ſtock in trade of which they may be poſſeſſed at the time when the prohibitions therein ſpecified, ſhall reſpectively take place. But they are required to deliver into the governor and council general, a full, true, and juſt ſpecification upon oath, of all the goods, wares, effects, and ſtock in trade, then in their poſſeſſion, which they are obliged to diſpoſe of within the ſpace of nine months, although ſuch may be the ſituation of theſe perſons, and the nature of their trade, that three or more years may be inſufficient for the performance of the task impoſed on them.

By another clauſe of the act, the perſons therein deſcribed are reſtrained from trading, after their covenants or agreements with the company, for reſiding or trading in India, ſhall be expired, without a new licence; under this reſtriction are included even free mariners, a claſs of men who have uſually gone out under no other limitation for reſiding or trading in India for life, than that of giving ſecurity not to become chargeable to the company; under which ſole condition, moſt of the gentlemen went out, who are now in India of that denomination.

The practice of ſeizing and tranſporting Britiſh ſubjects, is ſtill ſo far encouraged by this act, as muſt not only greatly impede the re-eſtabliſhment of all commercial confidence and credit betwen the natives

natives and Europeans, but may likewiſe be productive of ſuch evils and injuries to many Britiſh ſubjects as may provoke them to the worſt acts of deſperation; even ſuch as in the end, may prove fatal to the intereſt of the company and this country in India, ſince they will affect men in a military as well as civil capacity.

During the parliamentary deliberations on the act, George Johnſtone, Eſq; member of the houſe of commons, who has ever ſhewn himſelf equally ſtrenuous in his endeavours for ſuccouring the oppreſſed individuals, and ſupporting the common rights of mankind, preſented to that honourable aſſembly and moved for the inſertion of a clauſe, enacting "that all kinds of Moguls, Armenians, and other merchants, natives of Aſia, ſhould be allowed as in all times paſt, to carry on their trade, in any goods or merchandize whatſoever, without moleſtation, into and from Calcutta, Madraſs, Surat, Bombay, Bencoolen, and all other ports or places within the limits of the company's charter, on paying the legal duties and cuſtoms eſtabliſhed at the reſpective places where ſuch trade might be carried on." Nevertheleſs this juſt and provident clauſe was rejected, contrary to the intereſt of theſe provinces of the company, and of this kingdom; and againſt every principle of ſound policy: for the proſperity of all trading or manufacturing countries muſt ever depend on the freedom of traffic.

Poſterity will hardly believe that in ſo enlightened an age, the legiſlature of the greateſt commercial nation on earth has been ſeriouſly enacting laws calculated to frame fetters for their country-

men, with which they could not bind foreigners in India. This act is ſubverſive of all theſe immutable principles, which muſt be ever adhered to by all nations who ſeek proſperity or advantage from trade and commerce. It is allowable in every point by the agency, and intervention of banyars and merchants, while the double government, ſtrongly favours ſuch eluſion.

The wiſdom of modern times, chiefly conſiſts in the adopting of remedies for preſent evils, or eſcape from impending dangers, rather than the keeping them off as a ſolid courſe of wiſdom; and it is the ſoleciſm of great power to think of commanding the end, without ſeeking the means.

It has been ſufficiently proved that lord Clive and his committee was nothing in fact but a confederacy, who aſſumed to themſelves the ſovereign domination in Bengal. That their meaſures were as lenitive to themſelves as injurious to their employers; that whole nations of innocent, ſubmiſſive and induſtrious Indians have been therefore deſtroyed in a murderous way, plundered by illegal impoſts and exactions, derived of their native princes, depopulated and ruined.

The following copy of the memorial of George Johnſon and George Dempſter, Eſqrs; to the court of the Eaſt India directors, remonſtrating againſt their appointment of a ſelect committee, with extraordinary powers for the government of Bengal, dated the 30th of May 1764, prove theſe gentlemen's foreſight and ſagacity.

At a court of directors a reſolution had been agreed to by a very ſmall majority in the following words; "that in order to reſtore peace and tranquility

quility in Bengal, full power be given to lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, brigadier general Carnac, Mr. Verelſt, and Mr. Sykes, to purſue whatever means they judge moſt proper to attain the ſame."

It appeared to the memorialiſts, that the ſaid reſolution was deſtructive of the conſtitution of the Eaſt India company, which in every circumſtance has endeavoured to provide, by the number of perſons directed to be entruſted with the management of its affairs, that no undue influence ſhould prevail at any of its boards. Upon this principle the charter has extended the number of directors to twenty four, to be choſen annually, and ſubject to rotation; upon the ſame principle twelve counſellors have been appointed to each preſidency.

That as lord Clive had declared in the moſt ſolemn manner in the general court of proprietors, "that the company had nothing to fear from the aſcendancy of their military ſervants over the civil, ſince only an officer was to have a ſeat in council." That as his lordſhip's friends in the direction, had on all occaſions before the laſt election; expreſſed interms equally ſtrong and ſatisfactory, their ſenſe of the danger and expediency of conſtituting ſecret committees, with extended powers either at home or abroad; that as general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt, in their letters to the directors had condemned ſuch committees and attributed to them all the miſchiefs which had of late befalen the company's ſettlements in Bengal, the memorialiſts after all theſe circumſtances could not hear without aſtoniſhment of a committee having been appointed for Bengal, with more ample, dangerous and diſcretionary powers than any ever known heretofore

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in the company's ſervice. The former ſecret committees, ſo much complained of by lord Clive and many of the directors were limited to matters requiring ſecrecy, and relating chiefly to negociations with country powers, but ſtill ſubject to the review of the council, whereas the preſent committee was ſubject to no check or controul; and by tranſacting the whole buſineſs of the company, will induce the other members of the council to mere cyphers.

That the appointing of a general over major Adams to whoſe gallantry and abilities the company owed its preſervation, the appointing Mr. Verelſt and Mr. Sykes over their ſeniors, and a committee of five over the whole council, was a ſtring of moſt cruel and unheard of oppreſſions, which would add civil diſſention to the calamities of foreign war, and muſt deprive lord Clive of that very aſſiſtance, which he had required in his letter from experienced ſervants.

That by inveſting theſe gentlemen with ſuch ample powers, there was the greateſt reaſon to expect the once flouriſhing and commercial ſettlement of Bengal, would become purely military; for without ſupporting any of the three civil members of the committee, who owed their appointment merely to lord Clive's recommendation, to be under his lordſhip's influence, ſhould any of theſe three gentlemen die, in that caſe lord Clive would have a caſting vote, and general Carnac and he be an abſolute majority in the committee.

That one of the reaſons given by lord Clive why he would not act in the ſervice of the company, was the due influence he alledged Mr. Sullivan had aſſumed

aſſumed; his lordſhip's words were as uſual ſtrong; "All men (he ſaid) were equal to him; provided Mr. Sullivan had not the lead," his lordſhip likewiſe added, that "with ſome men words and actions are different." For now that Mr. Sullivan's influence did not exiſt. Firſt his lordſhip declared he would not go to India unleſs veſted with the very powers he had condemned as illegal, when intruſted with Mr. Vanſittart; and ſecondly his lordſhip's friends deviſed an expedient of a committee equally arbitrary and dangerous.

Thus the appointing of this committee was illegal and invalid. The commiſſion of the government under the great ſeal of the company, directed that the whole government ſhould be conducted by a majority of the council. That no act of directors could invalidate that authority, without paſſing under the ſeal of the company, and revoking the former commiſſions.

That the charter of juſtice in Bengal, ſeemed to be ſtruck at by theſe regulations, as giving full powers to purſue every means, &c.

That theſe regulations were injurious to the rights and intereſts of the proprietors, by entruſting their concerns with five, (or more properly with one) when twelve counſellors by the conſtitution of the company.

That the very intention of ſerving ſo large a number to compoſe the council, was to avoid that combination which might be expected from a few; but where theſe few were evidently the choice of a governor whoſe wealth and ambition rendered him a proper object of jealouſy; where the majority were already under his influence; where the inſult offered

offered the other counſellors muſt produce great diſcontent; where no one good purpoſe could be alledged; where a thouſand evils might be foreſeen, and where the military were to approve their own reward, contrary to the intention of the general court of proprietors. It was kindly hoped the court of directors would not, merely to gratify the ambition of one man, create ſo great an innovation in the affairs of the company; but that they would be pleaſed to permit the power to reſt in the governor and council, where experience had ſhewn it was leaſt liable to be abuſed, and where the conſtitution of the company had regularly placed it.

The conſquences of the violent meaſures and arbitary proceedings of the Nulla preſident and his committee, juſtified too much the memorialiſt's prediction. Though the council at large was to be conſulted by the ſaid committee, the power of determining was to be in that committee alone; theſe extraordinary powers were immediately to ceaſe, and the ſaid committee to be diſſolved.

The ſentiments of lord Clive with regard to the politics of India, were fully explained in a letter from his lordſhip to Thomas Rous, Eſq. dated at Madraſs, April 15th, 1765; the following is a copy of it:

"Dear Sir,

"We arrived at this place the 10th inſt. and ſhall proceed to Bengal next Saturday the 20th of April. The particulars of our late ſucceſſes, and now very flouriſhing condition of the company's affairs

affairs in Indoſtan, you will have been informed at large before this reaches you.

" I ſhall therefore only trouble you with my ſentiments in conſequence of theſe ſucceſſes, and truſt to your co-operating with me in carrying into execution, and eſtabliſhing upon the moſt ſolid baſis, ſuch parts of my plan as appear capable of anſwering, when we have both ſo diſintereſtedly at heart, the company's honour and proſperity.

We have at laſt arrived at that critical period which I have long foreſeen ; I mean that period which renders it neceſſary for us to determine, whether we can or ſhall take the whole to ourſelves. Jaffier Ally Khawn is dead, and his natural ſon is a minor, but I know not whether he is yet declared ſucceſſor ; Sujah al Dowlah is beat from his dominions ; we are in poſſeſſion of it ; and it is ſcarcely hyperbole to ſay, the whole mogul empire is in our power. The inhabitants of the country we know by long experience have no attachment to any allegiance ; their forces are neither diſciplined, commanded nor paid as ours are : can it then be doubted, that a large army of Europeans will effectually preſerve us ſovereigns, not only by holding in awe the attempt of any country prince, but by rendering us ſo truly formidable, that no French, Dutch or other enemy will preſume to moleſt us ?

You will, I am ſure imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the princes of Indoſtan muſt conclude our views to be boundleſs ; they have ſeen ſuch inſtances of our ambition, that they cannot ſuppoſe us capable of moderation : the very nabobs whom we might ſupport, would be either

covetous

covetous of our poſſeſſions, or jealous of our power. Ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to deſtroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning the firſt nabob would be followed by ſetting up another, who from the ſame principles would, when his treaſure admitted of his keeping up an army, purſue the very ſteps of his predeceſſor. We muſt indeed become nabob's ourſelves in fact, if not in the name, perhaps totally ſo without diſguiſe, but on this ſubject I cannot be certain until my arrival in Bengal. Let us then without delay, complete our three European regiments to one thouſand men each; ſuch an army, together with five hundred light cavalry, three or four companies of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible. In ſhort, if riches and ſecurity are the objects of the company, this is the method, the only method now for ſecuring them; our troops you will hear, are at this time about half way to Dehly, a march I highly diſapprove of; I mean abſolutely to bound our poſſeſſions and conqueſts to Bengal; never ſhall the going to Dehly be a plan adopted by me, if poſſible to be avoided, and you may depend upon my putting a ſtop to it; nor ſhould I ever have thought of going ſuch lengths, if others had not rendered it neceſſary. I could have wiſhed that our operations had been carried on upon a plan of more moderation, and that we had not been obliged to maintain any other military force than what might be ſufficient to preſerve and purſue our commercial advantages; but ſince our views are extended, and ſince commerce alone is not the whole of the company's ſupport, we muſt

muſt go forward; to retract is impoſſible. One word more, increaſe our army to the eſtabliſhment above-mentioned, 20,000 ſmall arms, with gunpowder ſufficient, and remember that the light cavaltry are moſt neceſſary; the preſent eſtabliſhment for Madraſs is ſufficient, no addition is wanted there, but Bengal requires your attention.

"Give me leave now to lead you for a few moments into the civil department, the confuſion we behold, what does it ariſe from? Rapacity and luxury, the unwarrantable deſire of many to acquire in an inſtant, what only a few can, or ought to poſſeſs. Every man would be rich without the merit of long ſervices, and from this inceſſant competition, undoubtedly ſprings that diſorder, to which we muſt apply a remedy, or be undone; for it is not only malignant, but contagious. The new covenants, though I dont entirely approve of their preſent ſhape will make a beginning. Many of the civil ſervants will probably reſign their employment. The court of directors muſt ſupply the ſettlement with young men, more moderate and leſs eager in their purſuit of wealth; and we may perhaps be reduced to the neceſſity of drawing ſome ſenior ſervants from the other ſettlements. It muſt be your care, and I truſt you will do all in your power to ſend out proper gentlemen. Affairs ſeem to be coming to ſuch a paſs, that in a little time there will be hardly any perſon at the council board, above the rank or age of a writer. In ſhort, the evils, civil and military, are now enormous, but they ſhall be routed out whatever odium may be thrown upon me by the miſtaken diſappointment of individuals, I am re-

ſolved to act for the advantage of the company in every reſpect.

" I have not time here to inform you of my whole plan of reformation; but the motives upon which I have founded it, being no other than the public good, you may ſafely exert yourſelf in its ſupport, if it ſhould ſtand in need of your aſſiſtancce, which I hardly think it can, even though faction ſhould be ſtill raging.

" I propoſed no advantage to myſelf; I am determined to return to England without having acquired one farthing addition to my fortune; ſurely then I cannot poſſibly deſign any thing but public good.

" Our affairs are now in a ſituation as to require the conduct of them ſhould be managed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, and conſequently the knowledge of them confined to few: I mention this, becauſe I find that your ſecret committee is aboliſhed, and I wiſh to hear very ſoon that it is re-eſtabliſhed, as I have written to Mr Walſh on this ſubject, and thought proper to uſe the ſame precaution I have to you. I muſt beg you to furniſh him with the key, and likewiſe a copy of this letter.

I am, dear ſir,
Your obliged friend,
And humble ſervant,
(Signed) CLIVE."

The following copy of another letter from lord Clive to the honourable ſir Joſeph Yorke, his majeſty's ambaſſador and plenipotentiary at the Hague, dated Calcutta, the 7th of November, 1765, will ſhew that he ſent remittances to Europe by

by the way of Holland, notwithſtanding his profeſſed diſintereſtedneſs; and proteſtation that he would not make a farthing addition to his fortune.

" Sir,

" I am perſuaded you will excuſe the liberty I have taken to incloſe under your addreſs, a letter to my attornies to England, that it may be ſure of going ſafe to hand, and with as much diſpatch as poſſible. To tell you the plain truth, the letter contains bills of exchange upon the Dutch company; and it affords me great pleaſure to inform you, that the great and flouriſhing condition of the Engliſh Eaſt India company has reduced us to the neceſſity of ſending our money home in this manner. We have eſtabliſhed peace in Bengal, and in conſequence are purſuing meaſures which I hope will make it laſting, and ſecure to the company the valuable acquiſitions lately obtained. The preſent revenue, excluſive of all expences, amounts to 1,700,000l ſterling per ann. Our moſt difficult task now left, is to prevent the ſudden growth of private fortunes, and to eradicate luxury and corruption, which, at my arrival, I found at ſuch a height, that I do not think the ſettlement in that ſtate could have exiſted another twelvemonth. Fortunes of 100,000l. have been obtained within the ſpace of two years; and individuals very young in the ſervice, are returning home this year with a million and a half. It would take up too much of your time, as well as mind, to enter into further particulars; I beg leave, however, to refer you to the advices, ſent by the admiral Stevens, which

was

was diſpatched home the beginning of laſt month, expreſs to the company, with moſt important news.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) CLIVE."

After the ſtricteſt ſearch, and from the beſt informations, we have not been able to aſcertain one fact on which the noble lord's aſſertions were grounded; on the contrary, we find, that no fortunes were ever obtained in Bengal by Europeans of ſuch immenſity, or with ſuch rapidity, as theſe of his lordſhip, and the gentlemen who were his coadjutors in politics during his two adminiſtrations in 1757, and in 1765. Excluſive of the India ſtock herein acknowledged to have been bought, for account of lord Clive, by his attornies, his lordſhip made conſiderable purchaſes from his fellow paſſengers on his voyage to India; and after his arrival in Bengal, tranſmitted to England ſeveral private letters, with ſuch account of the ſituation of the company's affairs as were calculated to enhance its nominal value.

An account of ſuch ſums as have been diſtributed by the princes and other natives of Bengal, &c. to the Eaſt India company and to lord Clive and the other company's ſervants, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both incluſive; diſtinguiſhing the principal times of the ſaid diſtributions, and ſpecifying the ſums received, by each perſon reſpectively.

Revolutions in favour of Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, in 1757.

Mr. Roger Drake, governor —		31,500
Colonel Robert Clive.	234,000	
Ditto his jagueer, agreeable to Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn's perwanah, from the month of Poos in the 1164th year of the Bengal ſtyle, or December A. D. 1757, and continued firſt by compromiſe, and afterwards by grant from the company, to the 5th of May 1784, being 26 years and 5 months; at * 30,000l. per annum. —	792,500	
		1,026,500
Mr. William Watts		117,000
Carried over		1,143,500

* The ſum ſtipulated in the Perwannah which was taken from the nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, is 222,958 ſicca rupees, which does not make quite 30,000l. per annum, but as the payments made to his lordſhip have been uſually kept for a conſiderable time in the company's treaſury at Bengal, at the intereſt of eight per cent. This computation muſt be deemed very moderate.

Brought forward		1,143,500
Major James Kilpatrick —	60,750	
Mr. Charles Manningham —	27,000	
Mr. Richard Beecher	27,000	
Mr. Paul Richard Parker — —	11,366⅔	
Mr. William Frankland —	11,366⅔	
Mr. Matthew Collett	11,366⅔	
Mr. William Mackett	11,366⅔	
Mr. Peter Amyatt	11,366⅔	
Mr. Thomas Boddam	11,366⅔	
Mr. John Walſh	56,250	
Mr. Luke Scrafton	22,500	
Mr. Henry Luſhington —	5,625	
Maj. Archibald Grant	11,250	
Stipulation to the navy and army	600,000	
From which muſt be deducted the ſum of two lacks given to colonel Clive, which is included in the above ſum of 234,000l. —	22,500	
	577,500	
		2,031,075

Revolu-

Revolutions in favour of Meer Coſſim Ally Khawn, in 1750.

Mr. Henry Vanſittart		51,333	
Mr. John Zephaniah Holwell —		30,937	
Mr. William Brightwell Sumner		28,000	
Mr. William Macguire —	20,625		
Ditto 5000 gold mohurs —	8,750		
		29,375	
General John Caillaud		22,916	
Mr. Culling Smith		15,354	
Major Martin York		15,354	
			200,269

Revolution on the reſtoration of Meer Jaffier 1763.

Stipulation to the army —		291,666	
Ditto to the navy		145,833	
			437,499
Major Hector Munro in 1764 received from Bulwantſing	10,000		
Ditto from the nabob	3,000		
		13,000	
The officers in major Munro's family from ditto —		3,000	
		16,000	
Carried over			437,499

Brought forward		437,499
The army received from the merchants at Banaras -	46,666	
		62,666

Acceſſion of Najim al Dowlah, 1765.

Mr. John Spencer	23,333	
Mr. Charles Stafford Playdell -	11,666⅔	
Mr. John Johnſtone	27,650	
Mr. Aſcanius William Senior -	20,125	
Mr. Samuel Middleton - -	14,291	
Mr. John Burdett	11,666⅔	
Mr. Ralph Leyceſter	13,125	
Mr. George Gray	11,666⅔	
Mr. Gideon Johnſtone	5,833	
		139,357
General John Carnac received from Bulwantſing in 1765	9,333	
Ditto from the king Shaw Allum -	23,333	
	32,666	
Lord Clive received from Meer Jaffier's widow in 1766	58,333	
		90,999

Reſtitution

Reſtitution on the elevation of Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, 1757.

To the Eaſt India company -	1,200,000	
Europeans - -	600,000	
Natives - -	250,000	
Armenians - -	100,000	
		2,150,000

On the depoſal of Meer Jaffier, and the elevation of Meer Coſſim, 1760.

To the Eaſt India company -		62,500

On the Reſtoration of Meer Jaffier 1763.

To the Eaſt India company -	375,000	
Europeans, Natives, and Armenians	600,000	
		975,000

On the Reſtoration of Sujah al Dowlah, 1765.

To the Eaſt India company	583,333	
		3,770,833
Total amount, including lord Clive's jagueer - -		6,732,698

Copy of the proceedings of lord Clive and the ſelect committee, held at Calcutta on the 5th of November 1765, upon an application made to the preſident and council at Madraſs, for four gentlemen of the greateſt integrity and ability, and untainted with the corruption and licentiouſneſs of Calcutta, to be taken into the council at Bengal.

Fort William, the 5th of Nov. 1765.

At a Select Committee. *Preſent,*
The right hon. lord Clive, Preſident.
William B. Sumner, Eſq;
Brigadier general Carnac, and
Harry Verelſt, Eſq;

The proceedings of the 29th ult. being wrote fair, were now read and approved.

The right honourable the preſident opens the buſineſs of the committee with obſerving, that our late acquiſition of influence and revenue has ſo widely extended the ſyſtem of politics hitherto adopted by the company, as to render it indiſpenſably neceſſary that the adminiſtration ſhould be placed in the hands of men of the greateſt integrity and ability we can ſelect from the whole liſt of covenanted ſervants.

That from a juſt ſenſe of the great importance of the company's concerns in Bengal, the committee had by the admiral Stevens earneſtly exhorted the court of directors to admit of no claim in compoſing the council of this preſidency, but what was founded

founded upon approved merit; and at the ſame time ſignified their ſentiments of the unfitneſs for that exalted ſtation of thoſe gentlemen who now ſtood next in ſucceſſion.

That although his lordſhip conſidered it would be highly imprudent in the preſent delicate conjunction of affairs to admit to ſuffrages at the board, a number of young men deeply tinctured with thoſe principles which ſo univerſally prevailed in this ſettlement, yet as time and proper examples may probably effect a reformation in their manners, he ſhould be very ſorry to exclude them utterly from the proſpect of riſing in the ſervice, as muſt neceſſarily happen if their juniors ſhould be promoted in preference to them.

That the board being now reduced to a number inſufficient to conduct the public buſineſs. He apprehends it becomes abſolutely neceſſary to fill up the vacancies in council; for as to calling down the chiefs of the ſubordinates to aſſiſt at the preſidency, it might be productive of the worſt conſequences, ſince then the whole weight of the inveſtment, and great part of the collections muſt devolve upon younger ſervants, who have neither the neceſſary experience or influence.

That the only expedient he can propoſe that is any way adequate to the exigency of our ſituation; and promiſes fair for promoting the great ſcheme of reformation, which the committee have ſo much at heart, appears to him to conſiſt in calling in the aſſiſtance of the moſt capable ſervants on the Madraſs eſtabliſhment below the rank of council, who being yet untainted with the corruption and licentiouſneſs of this ſettlement, will cordially co-ope-

rate

rate in every meaſure for eſtabliſhing the ſpirit of frugality, induſtry and ſubordination, among the claſſes of junior ſervants, which the committee have always conſidered as eſſential to the proſperity, and even to the ſecurity of the company's affairs in Bengal. But that his lordſhip by no means intends thoſe gentlemen ſhould be looked upon as fixed on this eſtabliſhment, until the pleaſure of the court of directors ſhall be known; and that having minutely weighed and examined the characters of the covenanted ſervants next to council at Fort St. George; his lordſhip is of opinion, that juſtice to their merit, and regard to our own ſituation, require we ſhould give the preference to Meſſrs. Ruſſel, Alderſey, Kelſall, and Floyer, all men of reputed ability and unblemiſhed honour, as well as of longer ſtanding in the ſervice than any upon our liſt of junior ſervants.

In conſideration of all theſe circumſtances, his lordſhip moved, that the committee ſhould immediately apply to the preſidency of Fort St. George for the aſſiſtance of the above-named gentlemen. And general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt approving:

Reſolved, That we write to Madraſs requſting that Meſſrs. Ruſſell, Alderſey, Kelſall, and Floyer may be ſent down with all poſſible diſpatch for the purpoſes ſpecified in the motion.

To this reſolution Mr. Sumner enters the following diſſent:

"I am ſorry to be obliged for the firſt time to enter a diſſent to a reſolution of this board; but the preſent is a caſe of a nature in which every member will neceſſarily be expected to judge for himſelf, and to ſatisfy his employers of the reaſons which

which induced him either to approve or diſapprove of the meaſure propoſed. My reaſons for diſapproving of it, are firſt, That I do not think we have authority to transfer the ſervants of another preſidency to this; and ſecondly, as we have already repreſented to the court of directors by the admiral Stevens, what was then eſteemed neceſſary on the point of the ſucceſſion to council, that we ought to wait for their orders, and not anticipate or take meaſures which perhaps may claſh with their reſolutions and intentions. That the ſervice may not in the mean time ſuffer from the deficiency of members at the board, I would propoſe that either thoſe gentlemen who are deemed unexceptionable in our own liſt of ſervants, be appointed to fill the vacancies, or that the chiefs of ſome of the ſubordinates, whoſe preſence on ſuch emergency might be ſpared from the buſineſs of the inveſtment, ſhould be called down to act as the preſidency, untill the pleaſure of our employers is known, which we may very reaſonably expect by the latter ſhips of next ſeaſon."

Ordered, that the letter to Fort St. George, be entered after theſe proceedings.

To the honourable Robert Palk, Eſq; Preſident and Governor, &c. Council at Fort George.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

The meaſures we are purſuing in order to accompliſh the ends propoſed by the court of directors, and ſecure to the company the great revenues they now poſſeſs in Bengal, are ſo contrary to the expectations, the views, and intereſts of many of their ſervants placed in the higheſt ſtations, and intruſted with the moſt weighty employments of this

this preſidency, that they have thought proper to reſign the ſervice. The opulent fortunes they have acquired, and the ſteps we are taking to prevent ſo ſudden a growth of wealth, at the expence of the company, and the national character, will ſufficiently declare the motives of their conduct, and of ours.

Notwithſtanding we have found it expedient to reduce the number of the board from ſixteen to twelve members, yet three ſeats are already vacant, and Mr. Senior has expreſſed his full intention of returning home this ſeaſon. It is with regret, we obſerve that theſe vacancies cannot be filled by the junior ſervants next in ſucceſſion; the corruption that prevailed in the government has deſcended to the lower claſſes, and a council compoſed of theſe would fruſtrate every attempt to effect that general reformation, ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs and permanency of the meaſures propoſed by our conſtituents.

We therefore earneſtly requeſt, that in conſideration of the preſſing exigency of our affairs, we may be favoured with the immediate aſſiſtance of Meſſrs. Claud Ruſſell, William Alderſey, Thomas Kelſall, and Charles Floyer; theſe gentlemen are ſenior to any on the liſt of our covenanted ſervants below the rank of council, and we cannot entertain a doubt but their removal will be approved by the court of directors, when we have repreſented the reaſons upon which this requeſt is founded.

You, gentlemen, are equally ſenſible with us of the importance of this ſettlement to the company, and no leſs ſolicitous for its proſperity, which depends ſo much upon the judicious ſelection of a board.

board. It is therefore our further deſire that Meſſrs. Ruſſel, and the other gentlemen, may proceed with all poſſible diſpatch over-land, as the ſeaſon of the year would render a paſſage by ſea tedious, and we are now forming plans for the collection of the revenues, which will oblige ſeveral members of the board to be abſent from the preſidency. We are,

Honourable Sir and Sirs,
Your moſt obedient,
Humble Servants,

(Signed) CLIVE.
Fort William, W.B. SUMNER.
the 5th Nov. 1765. JOHN CARNAC.
H. VERELST.

Copy of a memorial to the court of Eaſt India directors from the company's covenanted ſervants on the Bengal eſtabliſhment, remonſtrating againſt the ſelect committee's appointment of the four gentlemen from Madraſs, with the proceedings thereon of the committee on the 20th of January, 1766.

Fort William, Jan. 20th, 1766.

At a ſelect committee, preſent, the right. hon. lord Clive, preſident, William Brightwell Sumner, Brigadier General Carnac, Harry Verelſt, Francis Sykes, Eſqrs. The right hon. preſident opens the buſineſs of the committee with the following minute:

Gen-

Gentlemen,

At our laſt meeting we had the ſatisfaction of reading the aſſent of the preſident and council of Madraſs, to our requeſt for the aſſiſtance of Meſſrs. Ruſſel, Alderſey, Kelſall, and Floyer, till the pleaſure of the court of directors ſhould be known. The arrival of thoſe gentlemen is an event ardently to be wiſhed, by every man who regards the welfare of the company; and more particularly by us who are the guardians of their ineſtimable poſſeſſions in Bengal. At the time of our appointment, the affairs, at this preſidency were known to be in ſuch a ſtate, as required the exertion of extraordinary powers to amend. For that reaſon was I ſolicited, by a general court of proprietors, to accept this government. Perhaps, had they been more minutely acquainted with the corruption and licentiouſneſs which prevails, we ſhould have been inveſted with powers ſtill more extenſive. I do not deſpair, however, to find, that thoſe we have, will prove in a great meaſure ſufficient to lay a ſolid foundation for the future proſperity of theſe provinces, and to eſtabliſh that order, ſubordination, and oeconomy, without which no government can long exiſt. For my own part, I am determined to continue with perſeverance, as I begun with reſolution and diſintereſtedneſs, to effect a thorough reformation. The negligences, the abuſes, I muſt add, the frauds, which have too apparently crept into almoſt every department, the abſolute neceſſity of correcting thoſe, the incapacity either from underſtanding or principle, of ſome who rank near to council, and the unfitneſs from youth and inexperience

perience of others who are endued with abilities and integrity to aſſiſt us in our labours, the impoſſibility of our compleating the buſineſs ourſelves, ſince our abſence at times from the preſidency, or our attendance to other matters of great importance, muſt frequently divide our attention. Mr. Verelſt employed in ſuperviſing the Burdwan and Midnapore provinces, Mr. Sykes aſcertaining the whole collection of the government revenues, and myſelf obliged to be often up the country: for theſe among other ſubſtantial reaſons, we earneſtly requeſted the aſſiſtance of the gentlemen of Madraſs. If we are deſirous of ſaving this ſettlement from deſtruction, we muſt have a ſupply of diſintereſtedneſs, reſolution and abilities, from our neighbours; ſuch a government as this is not to be trifled with: the commerce and immenſe revenues of the three provinces ſhall not be ſacrificed in order to gratify the rapacity or vanity of individuals. Enough has been ſaid, enough has been ſeen of the general depravity of this place; nor ſhould I have now ſet before you the too familiar deſcription, were it not that occaſion ſeems particularly to require a review of the civil ſervants. In conſequence of our requeſting the aſſiſtance of the Madraſs gentlemen, a memorial has been drawn up by ſome of the gentlemen here, addreſſed to the court of directors, repreſenting the injury and diſgrace they ſuffer by ſuch a proceeding of the ſelect committee; the original I have not ſeen, but a copy of it has been ſent me, which I beg leave to lay before you for your further information. You will I doubt not, be ſurpriſed to hear of certain names ſubſcribed to a memorial, expreſſing a ſenſe of diſ-

grace and aſſerting the cauſe of integrity, innocence and abilities. I have authentic information however, that at the head of the ſubſcription are the names of the two counſellors; the one under a ſevere cenſure of the committee, and whoſe management of the company's inveſtment is under ſcrutiny, and the other ordered down from his chiefſhip; but his conduct may be inquired into. Whether thoſe gentlemen have ſet themſelves up as leaders of this aſſociation from any ſenſe of reflection, as mentioned in the memorial; or whether they have been unwarily inveigled by the ingenious young gentlemen, who, at the age of eighteen or twenty, find themſelves qualified to fill the ſtation of counſellor, I preſume not to determine; but I am ſure the court of directors will be ſtruck with amazement at the ſight of their names, and be utterly at a loſs how to account for ſuch a proceeding. I am far from thinking that the gentlemen when they think themſelves aggrieved, are not entitled to lay their caſe before their employers; but as they cannot be competent judges of the proceedings of the ſelect committee, which have not been laid before the council, their arraginment of our conduct ſeems rather premature: however, as the meaſure complained of has been already recommended to the court of directors in my letter to them by the admiral Stevens, we ſhall ſoon know whether it be approved of or not.

If the reaſons urg'd for it did not appear ſatisfactory at the time they received my letter, I make not the leaſt doubt that the conduct of their ſervants upon this occaſion, will convince them that there is actually no other way of preſerving this ſettlement.

The

The memorial itſelf cannot give much offence, for though puerile, it is modeſt, and though plaintive, it is not clamorous. But what will their honourable employers think of the mode in which it has been executed, unleſs they ſuppoſe it to have been inſtigated by ſome who are independent in fortune, or have no character to loſe. For your information upon this matter, I ſhall trouble you with an extract of a letter I received on Saturday the 11th inſtant, from a young gentleman of undoubted authority, who, however has deſired me to conceal his name, that he may not be ſubject to the reſentment of his aſſociates. The purport of his letter is hereto annexed, together with extracts of two letters from the ſame gentleman to Mr. Strachey my ſecretary.

"The council room and public offices have, we find, been the places of aſſociation for this oppoſition to our meaſures. Two gentlemen of council, whoſe duty it was to have diſcouraged ſuch a mode of combination, appear to have been the ringleaders in the buſineſs. Although the arrival of the Madraſs gentlemen could no more affect thoſe already at the board, that it can thoſe who landed a few weeks ago in the character of writers, juſt qualified by the age of ſixteen for that ſtation; the ſecretary's office at the time of a great hurry of buſineſs on the diſpatch of the ſhips, has been employed in ſummoning the civil ſervants reſiding in Calcutta, to ſign this memorial, and in writing circular letters to the abſentees for permiſſion to add their names, though the particulars of the proceedings of the committee, to which the memorial relates are yet unknown. Theſe gentlemen

men have it ſeems gone further; they have agreed to add inſult to faction, by declaring the gentlemen who are coming from Madraſs ſhall be treated with contempt, and the members of the committee not viſited, nor any of their invitations accepted.

For my own part, gentlemen, every day's experience convinces me of the expediency of the power granted to the ſelect committee; without ſuch power ſeveral of us had at this time been on our paſſage home, and extravagance, luxury and corruption had arrived perhaps at the end of their endeavours, the ruin of the company in Bengal. The ſupporters and abettors of the preſent aſſociation deſerve our moſt ſerious attention, and I deſire we may immediately take their conduct into conſideration. Their remonſtrances, as I have already obſerved, is too puerile to merit our notice, but the factious manner of making it will, if uncenſured, be a laſting reproach upon my government, and a tacit approbation of that licentious ſpirit which it is our duty to ſuppreſs

(Signed) Clive."

His lordſhip alſo deſires the following extracts from letters of intelligence to himſelf and his ſecretary Mr. Strachey, may be read.

Purport of a letter to lord Clive, dated Calcutta the 11th January, 1766.

That a meeting was held on the 10th inſtant at Mr. Vanſittart's country houſe, wherein it was reſolved, that a memorial ſhould be forthwith drawn up againſt the unprecedented and injurious ſteps of ſending

ſending for counſellors to this preſidency from Madraſs: that thoſe gentlemen ſhould on their arrival be treated with inſolence and contempt: and that any perſon belonging to this ſettlement, who ſhould preſume to ſhew them the leaſt civility or countenance, ſhould be branded with ignominy, and baniſhed ſociety: That the moſt active in this affair were Mr. French, Mr. Vanſittart, Mr. Majendie, the factors and ſenior writers; but that the memorial was to be ſigned by the whole body of ſervants in the order they rank, to be laid before the court of directors and there backed by the united intereſt of the reſpective friends. That Mr. Sumner had been ſounded, but that he had refuſed ſigning his name; and that Mr. Campbell was not to be made acquainted with the affair, till the laſt moment, as they feared he would give his lordſhip information thereof.

Extract of a letter to lord Clive's ſecretary, dated the 11th January, 1766.

"I muſt now requeſt you will inform him (lord Clive) in addition that Mr. Marriott and Mr. Senior are principals in the affair; the former remained in a room a long time this morning, with ſeveral of the gentlemen mentioned in my letter to lord Clive, to influence the writers, who were invited thither for that purpoſe to ſign their names to the famous memorial, all of whom did accordingly ſign it, though ſome much againſt their inclinations."

Extract

Extract of a letter to lord Clive's ſecretary, dated the 12th January, 1766.

"Pleaſe to inform my lord that I learned laſt night, Mr. Watts had after repeated ſolicitations conſented to ſign the memorial; but his acceſſion is kept a greater ſecret than that of any of the others. Mr. Sumner has alſo, at laſt, I am told, promiſed to ſign it when it returns from Decca, whither it was ſent laſt night to be ſigned by the gentlemen there. There was no ſuch thing as getting into the council-houſe yeſterday, except for one who went to ſign the memorial, as the officers were taken up in writing circular letters, and nobody admitted that was not previouſly examined. A reſolution is taken by the ſervants invited to dine with his lordſhip to-morrow, not to wait on him, nor to accept of any invitation for the future."

Lord Clive likewiſe deſires that the following copy of the memorial from the ſervants of this preſidency to the honourable court of directors may be read.

To the honourable the court of directors for the affairs of the honourable united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies.

"May it pleaſe your honours,

When your ſervants in any inſtance think themſelves aggrieved, you have been pleaſed to favour them with the indulgence of an application for redreſs immediately to yourſelves, through the channel of preſident and council. No occaſion could more

more urgently call for the diſagreeable neceſſity of claiming this privilege, than the ſituation wherein we now find ourſelves by a circumſtance from which we think we have received a moſt unmerited and mortifying injury and diſgrace.

Various letters from Madraſs inform us, that the ſelect committee here have invited Meſſrs. Claud Ruſſel, William Alderſey, Thomas Kelſall and Charles Ffloyer of that place, to ſucceed to ſeats in council upon this eſtabliſhment, and that thoſe gentlemen are according on their way hither. Were we conſcious of having neglected our duty or behaved unfaithfully in the truſt repoſed in us, we ſhould ſubmit with patience and look upon ſuch ſeverity to be juſtly inflicted; but ſatisfied as we are of our innocence, we are ſtruck with amazement and utterly at a loſs how to account for ſuch a proceeding.

As to the abilities of thoſe gentlemen, we cannot but flatter ourſelves, that many may be found on this eſtabliſhment in no reſpect inferior to them; and as to the company's buſineſs and intereſt in Bengal, we muſt in that point ſurely be ſuperior to them. If our integrity be called in queſtion, it is certainly a moſt cruel act thus to ſtigmatize a whole ſettlement unheard. Such a procedure could not fail to damp our zeal for your ſervice, and make our duty a burthen to us, had we not an entire conviction of obtaining redreſs from your impartiality and juſtice.

In the ſeventeenth paragraph of your commands by the 19th February 1762, you were pleaſed to give us reaſon to hope, that your ſervants here ſhould riſe in regular ſucceſſion, and not have the mortification

ſcation of being ſuperſeded; but when caſes of an abſolute neceſſity ſhould force you to a deviation. The flattering hopes from you our maſters, muſt undoubtedly add weight to the ſenſe we entertain of the injury done us upon this occaſion by our fellow ſervants, whom we never underſtood to be appointed the judges of ſuch a neceſſity, or inveſted with an authority to make any appointments upon your civil liſt; and this ſtep from the preſent committee, is the more affectingly ſtriking, as lord Clive in his letter to your honours, of the 27th of April, has the following ſentence:

"The heart-burnings and diſputes which ſeem to have ſpread, and over-run your ſettlement at Calcutta, aroſe, I much fear, from your appointment of Mr. Vanſittart to the government of Bengal, from another ſettlement, although his promotion was the effect of my recommendation. The appointment, therefore, of Mr. Spencer from Bombay, can only tend to inflame their diſſentions, and to deſtroy all thoſe advantages which the company can only expect to reap from harmony and unanimity amongſt their ſervants abroad."

We wiſh ever to preſerve that reſpect which is due to our ſuperiors in the ſervice, and we hope it will appear to you, that we are abſolutely forced into this repreſentation: and that we ſhould be men unworthy your ſervice, if we did not expreſs our deep ſenſe of the injuſtice we have ſuffered. To you we ſubmit our cauſe, not doubting but you will redreſs our grievances; this will be adding to the obligations already received from you; and we beg leave to aſſure you, we ſhall ever retain a grateful ſenſe of it, and ever ſerve you with zeal

and

and fidelity. The gentlemen of council who have ſet their hands to this addreſs, although not immediately affected by the meaſure that has been taken, have done it as a teſtimony of their ſenſe of the unjuſt reflection caſt upon your ſervants in general, on this eſtabliſhment; and the gentlemen to whoſe names an aſteriſm is prefixed, being abſent from the ſettlement, and at too great a diſtance to have the original circulated to them before the diſpatch of the ſhips could not ſign it themſelves, but having received copies thereof, have approved it, and deſire their names to be ſubſcribed.

We are, with the utmoſt reſpect.

May it pleaſe your honours,

Your moſt faithful, obedient,

And moſt devoted humble ſervants.

This memorial was ſigned by ninety-one gentlemen in the company's ſervice.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Gerald Guſtavus Ducarell, to the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the ſubject of the memorial recorded on their conſultation of the 22d of January, 1766.

To the right hon. Lord Clive, and members of the council.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

"I think it my duty to inform you, that on Saturday the 11th inſt. January, I was ſent for to the council-houſe, where many of the company's ſervants were aſſembled, in order to ſign a memorial, addreſſed to the honourable court of directors, re-

monſtrating againſt the proceedings of the ſelect committee, with regard to ſending for ſeveral gentlemen from Madraſs, to take their ſeats at the board, on the Bengal eſtabliſhment.

The conſequence of remaining ſingle, among a multitude who appeared to be unanimous, the dread of becoming the ſcorn of my fellow-ſervants, and the want of time to deliberate upon the propriety of what I was about to do, overcame my judgment, and I inadvertently added my name to the numbers who had already ſubſcribed to that memorial.

A few hours reflection convinced me of the folly I had been guilty of. I ſaw the impropriety and impertinence of my ſubſcribing to a remonſtrance againſt a meaſure, of which I could not poſſibly form any judgment; and which, right or wrong, could not affect a man ſo young in the ſervice as I was. The ſuppoſition, that the complaint of a writer could weigh down the arguments of experienced counſellors, who are intruſted with the whole management of the company's affairs, appeared to me abſolutely ridiculous; and to pronounce in a matter which could only concern thoſe who were near to council, founded more the cry of faction, than the remonſtrance of reaſon. I accordingly without delay wrote to Mr. Majendie, deſiring he would eraſe my name from the ſubſcriptions to the ſaid memorial; and alſo to declare, if occaſion ſhould require it, that I had entered my early proteſt againſt the memorial in general, and againſt my own inconſiderate aſſent in particular. That gentleman, however, in a letter to me, has thought proper to decline complying with my requeſt.

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He tells me, that unleſs I direct my proteſt to the whole body of ſervants, to the governor and council, to the court of directors, or to himſelf in his public character, no notice will be taken, nor my name eraſed from the memorial. Since, I find this buſineſs is to be tranſacted in ſo official a mode, I take the earlieſt opportunity of applying, through the regular form, in order to extricate myſelf from the error I had too haſtily engaged in. Your lordſhip, &c. will excuſe the prolixity of this addreſs, as well as my having choſen to addreſs you at all, ſeeing that my honour and future welfare are concerned in your having before you a true ſtate of my conduct, together with my real ſentiments on this occaſion. What I have ſaid will, I hope, in ſome meaſure ſecure for me your good opinion, which I ſhall always be ſtudious to deſerve: and I requeſt you will be pleaſed either to order my name to be ſtruck out, before the memorial is tranſmitted to the court of directors, or inform them that I have earneſtly ſolicited that favour.

I have the honour to be
My lord and gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt faithful humble ſervant.

Mirzapore,
19th Jan. 1766.

Gerard Guſtavus Ducarell."

Copies and extracts of minutes, letters, and proceedings, of the preſident and members of the council at Calcutta, from the 25th September 1765, to the 3d of March 1766, relative to the diſputes with lord Clive, which occaſioned the firſt impriſon-

impriſonment of the merchant Ramnaut, the ſuſpenſion of Mr Ralph Leyceſter, and the reſignation of Mr. George Gray, with the proceedings of the board, in their judicial capacities, upon Ramnaut's firſt confinement.

Extract from the proceedings of the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the 25th September. 1765.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following minute, in conſequence of ſome imputations which he has heard have been laid to his charge before lord Clive; which he deſires may be inquired into.

Mr. Gray's Minute.

"Having been informed, by common report, that ſome imputations have been laid to my charge before lord Clive, which are prejudicial to my character, and detrimental to my credit; I now requeſt his lordſhip will be pleaſed to inform the board of whatever I may have been charged with, that I may have an opportunity of vindicating my reputation from any injurious aſperſions thrown out againſt me; at the ſame time, I have received intelligence, that ſome perſons at Murſhadabad are now, or have been very lately, under actual confinement by Mahommed Reza Khawn, to extort evidence againſt me. Although I am at all times willing and ready to acquieſce in a candid enquiry, for the juſtification of my conduct, yet I cannot ſubmit to methods ſo contrary to juſtice, practiſed by Mahommed Reza Khawn, to injure me. I therefore requeſt, that he may be ordered to ſet thoſe perſons at liberty. The perſons I ſpeak of, are Rajah Daviſing, former Dewan of Purnea, and Meer Burkutt Ulla, an Officer of the Purnea government. The firſt of theſe, juſt before the war com-

commenced, with Meer Coſſim, ſent me intelligence of Meer Sheer Ally Khawn's hoſtile intentions againſt me at Maldah; the laſt ſaving the lives of ſome European gentlemen, who happened to be kept priſoners at Ragemahl, before the capture of Udwa Fort, and was, at my recommendation to major Adams, and by his ſolicitation to the late nabob, appointed to any employ in the Purnea diſtrict. The public ſervices of both merit our protection; but it has not proved a defence for them againſt the oppreſſions of the officers of the nabob's government.

(Signed) George Gray."

Lord Clive informs Mr. Gray in anſwer, that, at his requeſt, he will communicate the circumſtances on the board.

Extract from the proceedings of the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the 30th September 1765.

"Mr. Gray likewiſe enters the following minute on the ſame ſubject as that recorded on laſt conſultation, on certain imputations laid to his charge, which he deſired might be enquired into. I beg leave to acquaint the board, that having been informed a ſervant of mine was confined in his houſe by lord Clive, under a guard of ſeapoys; I went yeſterday to his lordſhip, to acquaint him that the perſon was my ſervant: and his lordſhip informed me had he known he was my ſervant, he would have ſent to acquaint me of the circumſtance. I then deſired the perſon might be releaſed from his military confinement, offering to be anſwerable for his appear-

appearance; but his lordſhip was pleaſed to refuſe me. I aſked his lordſhip on what account he was confined? and his lordſhip anſwered, for heinous crimes and miſdemeanors, as would appear bye and bye; on which account it was not proper any perſon, of either ſide, ſhould have communication with him. I have to remark, in my minute, I deſired a fair and candid enquiry; but certainly the confinement of my ſervant ſeems not to indicate to the world that candour I hoped for, neither do I know it to be agreeable to the rules of any Engliſh court of juſtice whatever.

(Signed) George Gray."

Extract from the proceedings of the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the 14th October 1765.

Mr. Gray now lays before the board the following repreſentation. On Tueſday laſt, I received the following note from lord Clive; a copy of which I think it neceſſary to lay before you.

SIR, Calcutta the 8th October 1765.

"Complaint has this morning been made to me, that you are taking money from the whores of this town, which I underſtand is practice prohibited by the company; and therefore I deſire you will diſcontinue it, until you are authorized to the contrary by the governor and council.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

To George Gray, Eſq;

(Signed) Clive."

I ſhall firſt obſerve, that being at the head of an office, and accountable to the board for my conduct,

duct, I do not think myſelf privately reſponſible to the preſident; or at leaſt, unleſs in a caſe of the greateſt exigency, that there can be occaſion for his iſſuing orders of his own private authority, when the office is upon the ſpot, and the power of aſſembling the council reſts with him. I cannot therefore conceive, that his lordſhip has a right to order me to diſcontinue any meaſures that I may think conſiſtent with my authority, in the office under my charge: and upon that opinion I anſwered his note by a letter, of which the following is a copy.

Calcutta, Oct. 8, 1765.

My Lord,

"I have received your note; but believe you are miſtaken, in what you underſtand the company had forbid to be levied from the women of the town. Thoſe orders relate to the zemindar's duties, but do not extend to any regulations formed by the collector. Next council day I ſhall lay before the board what I had propoſed, together with your lordſhip's note; and if they diſapprove of my meaſures, they ſhall immediately be diſcontinued. I cannot help obſerving here, that your lordſhip ſeems to give a very ready and attentive ear to every information and inſinuation to my prejudice; nor can I help thinking there is juſtice in Mr Burdett's obſervation, "That your lordſhip ſeems determined to render the ſervice a burthen to thoſe who have chanced to differ from you in opinion.

I am, with due reſpect, my lord,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) George Gray."

To the right hon. Lord Clive.

I muſt

I muſt firſt complain to the board, that his lordſhip, without conſulting them, or informing me, called ſome of the ſervants of my office, and privately demanded from them, accounts of money received; which, I think, both implies a ſuſpicion, and promulgates it through the town, that I intended to render falſe accounts. I ſhall next take notice of the ſtyle of his lordſhip's note, where he ſays, "I take the money from the whores of the town, &c." Such an expreſſion is unbecoming from one gentleman to another, and I muſt beg leave to think ſtill more ſo from the preſident of the council to a member of the ſame government. Indecency of ſentiment and expreſſion, unmerited and unſupported; I believe will always be conſidered to reflect on the perſon who utters it; but ſtill the imputation alone being injurious, I muſt very particularly diſprove it. I muſt inform the board, that on my firſt entry on the office of collector, the proſtitutes offered me a ſelaamy, which I was aſſured was uſual, and which would have amounted to ſo near two thouſand rupees. This offer I refuſed; but in compliance with an eſtabliſhed cuſtom, I deſired the principal amongſt them to preſent one gold mohur, and five rupees, in the name of the whole, and I accepted that nuzzer. On their going away, the ſame perſon who gave the nuzzer, repreſented, it was cuſtomary for one ſet to dance, and to receive enam for a gratification; and I gave them more money than the amount of their nuzzer.

However, although I would not receive any benefit from their preſent; yet I thought I was at liberty to apply their offers to their own advantage.

Con-

Conſidering the miſerable ſtate of thoſe women, a prey to the moſt loathſome diſtempers, and ſpreading infection around them; many of them when diſeaſed, through careleſſneſs, neglecting themſelves, and others ſo poor, that they cannot afford to pay for their cure; I propoſed what I thought would be for their relief. I determined to keep ten black doctors conſtantly to attend thoſe women, and to give them medicines when diſordered. For the poorer ſort, I was to have provided a houſe, or kind of hoſpital, where they were to remain while under cure; and to be ſupplied with diet and clothing, with other regulations, ſuch as appeared to me proper. After I had ſettled the plan, in which I had the conſent of the greateſt part of the women themſelves, and actually taken the doctors into ſervice, I then directed my people to apply to theſe women for their ſhares of the ſelaamy, which they had before voluntarily offered. Such was my ſcheme, and I found it approved by all who heard of it. Yet where is the deſign, in itſelf ever ſo good, which falſhood cannot blacken, and malice pervert? What I propoſed for the good of a parcel of wretched, unthinking creatures, as well as to prevent the moſt pernicious infection from ſpeading in our ſettlement, has been ſet forth in ſuch a light, as to be conſtrued into a mean practice of taking money from the whores. What I have mentioned, I do not deſire ſhould ſtand on my own bare aſſertion, there are ſeveral witneſſes to prove theſe circumſtances, who I deſire may be called, to declare, upon oath, what they know of this affair. In the mean time, I requeſt the board will appoint ſome other gentlemen to take charge of the collectorſhip, as I can-

not think of acting longer in an office, where I have been treated with ſo much indignity, and where the preſident leſſens my authority with thoſe immediately under my charge.

This ſubject concluded, I think it behoves me to take the preſent opportunity of remarking to the board, that although it is now above three weeks ſince I called upon lord Clive, to make known the reports which had been propagated to the prejudice of my character, nothing has yet been laid before them. I underſtand great pains have been taken to collect informations againſt me, but ſecure on the baſis of a conſcience which ever deteſted mean actions, I defy all reſearches and enquiries. I have great reaſon to ſuſpect, that thoſe may be employed, and ſtretched to their utmoſt extent, to ſeek for flaws or errors in my conduct, but that little regard will be paid to, whatever may tend to the benefit of my character.

Pretexts to diſapprove may be eaſily found by thoſe who are greedy to condemn, or make the world condemn; but I truſt, candour and reaſon will juſtify a conduct, which hath ever been directed by a good intention; and I now call upon lord Clive to declare, whether, previous to the requeſt I made, to have the informations laid before the board, (and to which he replied, that it was not his intention to have them laid before the board, had it not been of my own ſeeking) he did not mention it in private companies, ſo that a report was propagated in the ſettlement, that he was poſſeſſed of accuſations to the detriment of my character. The anſwer of his lordſhip, which was made at council three weeks ago, implied plainly, that he had

had at that time, accuſations againſt me. I have a right to inſiſt, and now demand, that thoſe be immediately laid before the board; otherwiſe it muſt appear to the world, that he then threw out, at random, reports to the injury of my character, without foundation; and that he has been ſince hunting for informations to endeavour to ſupport them, leſt if he did not make a good charge againſt me, he might ſuffer diſcredit. At the ſame time, I deſired lord Clive to make the information public, I required of the board to afford me a candid, open, and impartial enquiry; what I have not only a right to, as one of their body, but as a ſubject of a free government. How inconſiſtent with every part of this requeſt, the ranſacking different parts of the country for accuſations, impriſoning people whom I have had in my employ, or been otherwiſe connected with, and exerciſing ſeverities upon them, to drive them to give informations to my prejudice, are, is what I ſubmit to your judgment: for my own part, I think, a method of proceeding ſo contrary to equity, and the known laws of our land, muſt of itſelf overſet any accuſations it produces, and acquit me to the world. But not chooſing to ſubject myſelf implicitly to ſuch abuſe of power, I now call upon the board immediately to protect me and my ſervants from ſuch violence, and to ſupport me in an enquiry, free from the irregularities I complain of: otherwiſe I ſhall be obliged to relinquiſh the ſervice, informing my employers, that I am driven to ſuch a ſtep by the unheard of violent and oppreſſive conduct of their preſident.

(Signed) George Gray."

The

The foregoing minute having been perused, lord Clive also enters the following representation on the same subject, as the first part thereof.

"I have the honour to lay before the board a copy of a letter written to me by Mr. Gray the 8th inst. in consequence of an information and complaint which I had received of his levying money from the prostitutes of Calcutta; a practice, which I understand to have been prohibited by the company, and which, I therefore, desired him to suspend, till he should have proper authority for continuing it. I also trouble you with a copy of his answer to my letter: wherein he observes, that I seem to give a very ready and attentive ear to every information, or insinuation to his prejudice: and adds, that he thinks there is justice in Mr. Burdett's observation, "That I seem determined to render the service a burthen to those who differ from me in opinion." It will always give me great concern, when any gentleman entertains suspicions so derogatory from my real character, as those mentioned by Mr. Gray: but as I can hear them with temper; and invalidate them by an appeal to my actions, my concern can never flow from any other motive, than the desire I have to see our consultations unanimous in the pursuit of one single object, the company's interest; and the hopes I had formed of finding every individual so justly satisfied with his own principles of conduct, as not to permit him to suppose they could effectually be attacked by the prejudices or credulity of any man. Be this as it may, I am determined to perform the duty, and support the honour of government, by an impartial examination into every grievance, and by counteracting the designs

deſigns of oppreſſion wherever they are preſented to my view, equally regardleſs of the ſhafts of calumny, and the reſentment of diſappointed ambition. Conſcious, as I am, of the impartial and diſintereſted part I have hitherto acted, I dare appeal to the hearts and voices of this board to determine, whether Mr. Gray and Mr. Burdett, in the obſervation they have thought proper to make upon my conduct, have not miſtaken a difference of principle for a difference of opinion. With regard to the purport of my letter to Mr. Gray, which ſeems to have given great offence to his dignity in office, it is now before you, and I deſire the favour of your ſentiments ſeverally on the following conſequential queſtions:

Whether the preſident is not virtually at the head of every office? and in caſe of any new regulations being undertaken without the ſanction of the board, which he thinks diſhonourable, or diſadvantageous to the company; whether he has not a right to call upon the perſons acting in ſuch office, to deſiſt from making ſuch regulations, till they have the conſent and approbation of the board? Is it not his duty to receive the petitions, and give ear to the complaints of thoſe who think themſelves injured or oppreſſed?

(Signed) Clive."

The copies of the letters referred to by his lordſhip being peruſed, appears to correſpond exactly with thoſe produced by Mr. Gray. The firſt queſtion propoſed by his lordſhip, being now put ſeverally to the members of the board; their anſwer thereto were taken as follow: Mr. Leyceſter is of opinion, that the governor is virtually at the head

of

of every office, and has a right to examine into the management of it: but does not think that, if he finds new regulations taken without the ſanction of the board, he has a right to diſcontinue them of his own authority; as in half an hour the council may at any time be aſſembled, and a member of the board in office can only receive orders from the preſident and council; and that therefore the preſident, in ſuch caſes, ſhould ſummon a council, and ſubmit the circumſtances to the deciſion of the board. Mr. Vereſt thinks the preſident has the right lord Clive mentions. General Carnac thinks he is the head of every office, and as ſuch has a right to ſuſpend the execution of any regulations, that are not warranted by the board. To the other queſtion, the board unanimouſly reply in the affirmative. Some diſcourſe and argument paſſing between his lordſhip and Mr. Gray on the ſubject of the foregoing repreſentations, concerning Mr. Gray's receiving money from the proſtitutes of the ſettlement, his lordſhip, upon a declaration made by Mr. Gray entered the following minute: lord Clive thinks any atteſted papers of Mr. Gray's not intending to receive the money from the proſtitutes unneceſſary; as he has declared, in the preſence of this board, that he ſhould not have thought it wrong to receive the money from them on his account. Lord Clive farther lays before the board the following minute; in anſwer to Mr. Gray's requiring the charges which he might be poſſeſſed of againſt him.

The candid proceedings of the ſelect committee upon a late occaſion, having been cloſed and tranſmitted to the court of directors, I was in hopes the

the gentlemen of council would have readily acquieſced with the expediency of the meaſures that had been purſued, nor have called for new matter to prove the neceſſity of a thorough reformation. It was not my intention; much leſs was it my deſire, to enter farther into ſubjects of ſo diſagreeable and odious a nature, unleſs obliged thereto, by ſuch additional complaints as my duty might forbid me to conceal. It is true, that freſh complaints, prejudicial to Mr. Gray's character, and detrimental to his credit, as he expreſſes himſelf, in his minute of the 25th September, have been laid before me; and it is no leſs true that I wiſhed to ſee them accommodated, without being driven to the neceſſity of troubling the committee, or council, with facts and circumſtances which humanity would perſuade me not to make public. Mr. Gray however has called upon me for them, in order to give him an opportunity of vindicating his injured reputation; and this he ſeems certain of being able to accompliſh, ſince he demands the charge with that unembarraſſed confidence, which is properly aſſumed by accuſed innocence. I ſhall therefore, with the leſs anxiety, lay before the board, agreeably to Mr. Gray's requeſt in a few days, them imputations I am deſired to produce; which, however ſtrong in appearance, will, I hope, fail to impeach a conduct ſuperior to all excuſe, and fearleſs of all accuſations. Mr. Gray, totally ignorant of the cauſe of Daviſing's confinement, requeſts he may be ſet at liberty; this board will permit me to acquaint them, that the Rajah is not confined in order to extort evidence againſt Mr. Gray, as that gentlemen, in his minute above-mentioned, is pleaſed

to

to aſſert ; but on no leſs an occaſion than arrears of rent, amounting to many lacks of rupees, due to the government, Meer Burkutt Ulla, and others, are alſo under confinement, on account of deficiencies in their payment of revenues : which deficiencies they alledge to have partly ariſen from ſums extorted, and preſents made to certain gomaſtahs and inferior agents, ſome of whom have taken great liberties with Mr. Gray's name.

(Signed) Clive."

And Mr. Gray propoſes the following queſtions ſeperately to lord Clive, and the other members of the board, which he requeſts they will ſeverally pleaſe to reply to.

Queſtions to lord Clive.

" Have you not, ſubſequent to my minute of the 20th September, been ſeeking charges againſt me ? or was you at that time, in poſſeſſion of complaints to authoriſe the imputations thrown out againſt me ? and could it be out of tenderneſs to me that, while the utmoſt injurious uſe was made of ſuch informations, you wiſhed to avoid entering on a public explanation ? Have you authorized any perſon to demand, by threats of guards and puniſhment, private letters of mine, or papers, or accounts touching my fortune or connections ? Whether your lordſhip, being a juſtice of the peace, and of courſe knowing you ought to be guardian of the liberty of the ſubject, hath not placed military guards over inhabitants of this ſettlement, and particularly over men with whom I have been connected, and ſubſequent to my calling on your lordſhip to ſet forth any charges againſt me ?

Whether

Whether you did not give a perwanah to Bolakydaſs, aſſuring him he might carry on his buſineſs with confidence; and on your return to Calcutta, finding this man a ſuitor to the board, for recovery of a ſum of money lent to the company in 1763, in a time of diſtreſs, which ſurely entitled him to the company's favour and protection, whether your lordſhip did not ſend a chubdar to order him to quit the ſettlement, when it was known that the harpies and ſpies of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and Juggetſeat, his known enemies, were hovering about to ſeize him the moment he quitted Calcutta. Whether, after thus turning out a man under the board's protection, you did not, in a few days, ſend for him back? Whether you have not ſince received him with favour? And whether you have not been endeavouring to collect from this man information againſt me? If you heard complaints againſt me, why did you not rather inform me of them yourſelf, than mention them to others privately, by which a ſuſpicion was raiſed of my character, which I could have no opportunity of clearing up?

Queſtions to the ſeveral members of the board.

Whether it is agreeable to equity and the laws of our conſtitution, for the preſident to ſeize, with military guards, the civil inhabitants of this ſettlement, reſiding under the protection of our flag, either merchants, ſervants to Britiſh ſubjects, or others, and to place military guards upon their houſes, perſons, and properties; or to demand, by uſe of force, threats, or other harſh means, any informations, papers, or other matters, or things tending to the injury of Britiſh ſubjects, or thoſe under protection of his majeſty's charter?

Whether informations ſo obtained, are of any validity in courts of law or equity?

Whether ſuch practices are not deſtructive of the trade, peace, and ſecurity of the ſettlement, by being a breach of that hoſpitality, protection, and confidence, by which all well regulated communities flouriſh? Whether a conduct which muſt deter men of property from reſiding in the ſettlement, is not injurious to the company?

Whether the governor of the ſettlement has the privilege, in time of profound peace, to employ the company's ſoldiers to ſeize our inhabitants, or place them over their houſes?

Whether, on information on oath, laid before one of his majeſty's juſtices, by an inhabitant of this ſettlement, that his houſe has been aſſaulted, or perſon ſeized by a band of armed men, whether ſuch juſtice can refuſe to iſſue a warrant, in order to commit to goal, or bind over to the peace, ſuch aſſailants, or their abettors? Whether ſuch attempts to degrade a member of this board, in the eyes of the ſervants of the company, to depreciate thus the credit and character of one of his majeſty's juſtices and judges, in a ſettlement, over which his juriſdiction extends, is becoming in Lord Clive, whether conſidered as a preſident of this council, or as one of the king's juſtices, bound by oath to afford protection, and render juſtice to every man who claims it?

Agreed, that copies of theſe queſtions be delivered to the ſeveral gentlemen, that they may give in their anſwers in writing.

Copy

Copy of the proceedings of the bench of his majeſty's juſtices of peace for the town of Calcutta, held the 18th of October, 1765.

Preſent,

The right honourable lord Clive, preſident; William Brightwell Sumner, Harry Verelſt, and Ralph Leyceſter, Eſquires.

Mr. Verelſt acquaints the bench, that Mr. Gray waited upon him this morning, and informed him that, underſtanding ſome people were ſtationed as a guard over the perſon and houſe of Ramnaut, he had brought with him two gentlemen, Meſſrs. Francis Peacock and Walter Brown, to give their depoſitions on the occaſion, and deſired a warrant of Mr. Verelſt to ſeize ſuch armed men, and their abettors, who therefore requeſted a bench of juſtices might be ſummoned to take the ſubject into conſideration.

Mr. Francis Peacock being now called upon to give his evidence, depoſeth upon oath as follows:

"That he, accompanied by Mr. Walter Brown, went to the houſe of Ramnaut, where they found a ſeapoy with a fixed bayonet, who refuſed them admittance, upon which, he told the centinel, they had ſome buſineſs with the ſaid Ramnaut, and deſired to ſpeak to him; to this the ſeapoy replied, it was lord Clive's orders that no one ſhould ſee him, and that he was to be kept a cloſe priſoner in his room. In the mean time, a ſervant of Ramnaut's came out to them, and aſked if they would not come in. The evidence then aſked the ſeapoy a

ſecond

ſecond time time for admittance, who again refuſed it; ſaying, it was lord Clive and the major's orders that no perſon ſhould have entrance. Upon which Ramnaut's ſervant informed them, that during the firſt part of his confinement he was allowed to ſit out in his room, but now he was cloſely confined: and alſo, that he had been plundered by the ſeapoys of money and jewels. And further the deponent ſaith not.

(Signed) Francis Peacock."

"Mr. Walter Brown being ſworn as an evidence, depoſeth, That, on the 16th October 1765, he went, with Mr. Francis Peacock to the houſe of Ramnaut, in order to ſpeak with him, but when he came there, he found a number of ſeapoys in the paſſage. That he aſked a centinel, with a fixed bayonet, if he might not have permiſſion to ſee Ramnaut: who told him he could not, as there were poſitive orders for no perſon whomſoever to be admitted. He then aſked the ſeapoy, by whoſe orders he was placed there? to which he replied, by the major's, according to lord Clive's orders, and further the deponent ſaith not.

(Signed) Walter Brown."

Mr. Leyceſter requeſts the proclamation, iſſued by his majeſty's juſtices for the town of Calcutta, and diſtricts thereof, at their quarter ſeſſions holden for the ſaid town, on the 3d of June 1762, may be read, of which the following is a copy.

A Proclamation.

"It is needleſs to enlarge upon the benefits which will accrue to the body of this town, and to every individual

individual thereof, by a free and impartial adminiſtration of the laws of England to the inhabitants in general, of whatever caſt or profeſſion. Nothing can ſo effectually ſecure the perſons and properties of the people. In the company's others preſidencies the inhabitants have long enjoyed this benefit, as they have had the authority of his majeſty's gracious charter: but in Bengal, political reaſons, ariſing from the reſtraints laid upon our ſettlements by the country government, have hitherto prevented the free exerciſe of the excellent laws thereby diſpenſed. Theſe reaſons no longer ſubſiſting, it is the intention of the court to put the laws of England in force againſt all offences that may be committed in the town of Calcutta, and diſtricts thereof, deſigned by the charter, of which intention the court have thought proper to give this public notice and warning.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following information, having previouſly ſworn to the truth of it.

"Mr. Gray acquaints the juſtices, that he was informed, by Ramnaut's ſervants, that a guard of armed men were upon the houſe of the ſaid Ramnaut, who confined the ſaid Ramnaut very cloſely, and who had taken ſundry things from him, and had uſed him ſeverely in other reſpects. That hereupon Mr. Gray ſent the two gentlemen who have given their depoſitions, to ſee whether there were actually a guard upon the ſaid Ramnaut's houſe, or not, and to aſk him, whether he was ſo ill treated as the ſaid ſervant had declared, or not? the two gentlemen returning, brought the information they have depoſed to, and Mr. Gray, as a juſtice of the peace, and bound to take notice of whatever

whatever he deemed contrary to the laws and privileges of the charter, went, accompanied by Meſſrs. Francis Peacock and Walter Brown, to Mr. Verelſt, juſtice of the peace, to deſire a warrant might be iſſued to apprehend the armed men, who committed, or were committing theſe violent and tumultuous acts. Mr. Verelſt refuſed to grant any warrant, or take depoſitions from the above witneſſes. Upon this information, Mr. Verelſt deſired Mr. Gray might be aſked; if he did not reply to Mr. Gray, that he would deſire a bench of juſtices immediately to ſit and determine the matter, and likewiſe ordered the evidences to attend for that purpoſe. That this happened exactly at a quarter before nine this morning, and the juſtices met exactly half an hour after nine. Mr. Gray informs the bench that it was ſo: and that he replied, that every moment the man continued under this improper confinement, it was ſo much detriment to him; and that it was impoſſible, during this delay, the people who committed this violence might make their eſcape, or words to that effect. Mr. Leyceſter aſked the opinion of the juſtices, whether any man living within the precincts of his majeſty's court, can, or ought to be confined by military guards longer than is neceſſary to deliver him up to the civil magiſtrates?"

Lord Clive informs the bench, that he has received numberleſs complaints from Mahommed Reza Khawn, and others, of extortion and oppreſſion committed by Ramnaut; that his lordſhip has ſeveral evidences which he will lay before the governor and council, and which is the reaſon of his not delivering him over to the civil power, until it is deter-

determined whether he is to be delivered up to the nabob.

Mr. Leyceſter repeats his former queſtion, and further asks the bench, whether lord Clive, being in poſſeſſion of any accuſation whatever againſt Ramnaut, is a ſufficient plea for detaining him ſo long under military confinement, and whether he ſhall be any longer confined?

Mr. Leyceſter is of opinion, that as two men have depoſed, upon oath, before this bench, that they have themſelves ſeen the houſe of a perſon reſiding in Calcutta, beſet with a body of armed men, a warrant ſhould be immediately iſſued to apprehend ſuch aſſailants and diſturbers of the peace, and ſecurity of thoſe living under the protection of his majeſty's charter.

Mr. Vereſt minutes it as his opinion, that there is not ſufficient reaſon for a warrant to be granted.

Mr. Sumner informs the bench, that conſidering him as an inhabitant of Maldah, and ſubject to the laws of the country government, and to be delivered up to Mahommed Reza Khawn, in caſe theſe accuſations are proved againſt him on an examination before the board, he thinks Ramnaut ſhould be continued under confinement, and that the military guards ſhould be tried by the civil power, provided they have robbed or deprived Ramnaut of any of his goods.

Lord Clive is of opinion, that the evidences which have been given, being only from hearſay, are not ſufficient grounds for iſſuing a warrant.

A true copy.

(Signed) Edward Barber, Clerk.

Ex-

Extract from the proceedings of the president and council at Calcutta, on the 18th of October. 1765.

The board, except general Carnac and Mr. Gray, having, before they sat in council, assembled as a bench of his majesty's justices, summoned by Mr. Verelst, upon a representation made to him by Mr. Gray, touching the confinement of a servant of his, with a guard of seapoys. A copy of their proceedings thereon is ordered to be entered on this consultation, for the sake of reference.

Lord Clive delivers in the following minute, in answer to Mr. Gray's, and the question proposed by him to his lordship, at the consultation of the 14th inst.

The only notice I think proper to take of the minute and questions proposed by Mr. Gray, on Monday last, is by way of observation, that the extraordinary warmth with which he has expressed himself on the circumstance of Ramnaut's confinement, seems to imply, that he is a party concerned. Whether he is or is not, will be determined by this board from the proceedings.

And general Carnac and Mr. Verelst enter the following minutes, upon the questions at the same time proposed to the other members of the board.

"The questions proposed by Mr. Gray, being founded upon a supposition of facts for which there is no proof to this board more than bare assertions of his own, which seem principally actuated by resentment, and only done to draw forth the previous judgment of each member, before any fact is authenticated to ground such judgment upon; General Carnac and Mr. Verelst deem them unbecoming,

coming highly injurious to the governor, and unworthy an anſwer from them, as members of the board.

Mr. Gray enters the following minutes in reply to the foregoing from lord Clive.

"Lord Clive has no right to put any ſuch invidious conſtruction upon my endeavouring to procure juſtice due to Ramnaut. He has been in my employ: and I can plainly diſcern, that in attacking him, his lordſhip thinks he makes an indirect attack upon me. I will therefore defend him as long as I can, for I am convinced, that had not his lordſhip expected to have procured accuſations againſt me by this means, Ramnaut was a man too inconſiderable ever to have become an object of his notice. His lordſhip takes occaſion to evade an anſwer to my queries, under the foregoing pretence, which to me appears very inſufficient indeed; however, it undoubtedly intitles me to the liberty of putting what conſtructions I pleaſe upon his lordſhip's ſilence, and which I may not only paſs myſelf, but by ſtating the queries to the public, and informing them, that his lordſhip declined to anſwer, obtain their judgment alſo."

General Carnac and Mr. Leyceſter lay before the board the following minutes, on the ſubject of a debate which aroſe at the forementioned conſultation, touching the propriety of lord Clive's confinement of Ramnaut, Mr. Gray's ſervant.

The general Minutes.

"It having been induſtriouſly propagated, that general Carnac had aſſerted this to be a military government, to the total excluſion of the civil pow-

er; and as from what Mr. Sumner avows having been ſaid to him on this ſubject by Mr. Leyceſter,

There is great reaſon to believe, that this ſcandalous and malicious report owes its riſe to that gentleman: to prove the falſhood of the allegation, the general appeals to the gentlemen who were preſent at the laſt council, and he requeſts they will do that juſtice to his character, to declare the converſation that paſt between Mr. Leyceſter and him at that time, and their ſenſe of the ſame."

Mr. Leyceſter's Minute.

A minute of Mr. Gray's, on Monday laſt having occaſioned ſome debate; lord Clive in the courſe of it declared, That the company's government in Bengal was a military government, as well as a civil one. The debate aroſe on a queſtion, whether the preſident had authority to confine our inhabitants by a military guard, from inſtances which had really happened; the drift therefore of lord Clive's aſſertion was obvious; in this he was ſupported by general Carnac, who further added, that if it was thought I deſerved it, he would not ſcruple to ſeize me with military guards, or words to that effect.

His majeſty's gracious charter to the company, the civil courts of juſtice, the court of oyer and terminer, and the authority of the king's judges and juſtices, ſeem by ſuch declaration to be entirely put out of the queſtion by theſe gentlemen. I tremble at the thought of being deprived of the indulgencies and privileges of our conſtitution; and I call upon you, gentlemen, not only as a preſident and council, but as a bench of the king's juſtices, to conſider the fatal tendency of ſuch an aſſumed autho-

authority over the civil rights of his majeſty's ſubjects. How much does it behove you to guard thoſe bleſſed privileges from every innovation! how jealous ought you to be of them, in a region ſo remote from our mother country! when my ſtation as a member of this government, my authority and quality as one of his majeſty's judges and juſtices, protect me not from threats of military guards, what may not the inhabitants of a lower ſphere live in dread of? I appeal in the moſt ſolemn manner to you, gentlemen, as my fellow judges and juſtices, I call up you, to protect the rights and privileges of the ſubjects, to free them from all apprehenſion of a military power, I demand, that the aſſertion of this being a military government be publicly exploded: that the authority of his majeſty's juſtices be acknowledged in the moſt ample form, ſuperior to all military force: and that the guards be removed, by your orders, from the houſes of our inhabitants: that not only I, but the whole ſettlement, may in confidence and ſafety attend the company's and our own concerns, and ſuch others as are intruſted to our management. The inhabitants may juſtly be alarmed, and aſtoniſhed at this unheard of aſſertion of a military power over a Britiſh colony, and have a right now to expect ſuch a renunciation, to quiet, for the preſent, their apprehenſions: nor conſidering myſelf as a juſtice, dare I ſeem by my ſilence to acquieſce in declarations ſo ſubverſive of our laws and conſtitution, or expoſe myſelf to be inſulted by hearing ſuch threats at your board.

(Signed) Ralph Leyceſter.

Mr. Ley

Mr. Leyceſter, in conſequence of general Carnac's minutes, deſires the following queſtion may be put ſeverally to the members who were preſent on the occaſion,

Whether the aſſertions contained in his minute, concerning the general, are true or falſe.

The queſtion were put accordingly.

"Mr. Gray, after having, at his requeſt, been ſworn to the truth of his anſwer, delivered as follows: That he remembered perfectly well, lord Clive's ſaying, this was a military as well as a civil government: that general Carnac ſupported the ſame, and after ſome arguments, which Mr. Gray does not particularly recollect; that the general actually did declare, that if he thought he deſerved it, he would not ſcruple to ſeize even himſelf. Mr. Vereliſt declares, on lord Clive's obſerving, that this government was both a military as well as a civil government; the general joined in opinion, and ſupported the neceſſity of ſuch mixt government in ſuch a place as this is; though at the ſame time, he declared, he was well acquainted with the difference of each, and would ſupport the civil, but there were many inſtances, where the military power was abſolutely requiſite, particularly in the immediate ſeizure of perſons who might be guilty of atrocious crimes, to prevent their making their eſcape; that Mr. Leyceſter, differing in opinion, debates aroſe, when the general told him, that in ſuch an inſtance before mentioned, he would not ſcruple to ſeize him. Theſe to the beſt of Mr Vereliſt's knowledge, were the ſentiments the general expreſſed himſelf in."

Lord

Lord Clive's minutes, that his ſentiments of what paſſed correſpond entirely with what Mr. Verelſt has related; but he does not recollect the particular words which paſſed previous to general Carnac's declaration.

Theſe anſwers have been recorded, Mr. Leyceſter asked the ſecretary, whether he had attended to the diſcourſe which paſſed on the occaſion: and deſired if he had, he might relate the ſame to the board. The board acquieſcing in Mr. Leyceſter's deſire, the ſecretary replied in the affirmative to his queſtion; but begged the permiſſion of the board to prepare his relation againſt their next meeting in writing, that he might recollect himſelf particularly, and deliver it with more preciſion.

Mr. Gray delivers in the following reply to lord Clive's minute, entered on conſultation the the 14th inſtant.

"Were we to found our opinion of his lordſhi 's conduct from his declaration in his minute, it would appear all mildneſs, candour, and tenderneſs; but when facts ſeem to contradict his profeſſions, we are at a loſs how to reconcile a ſyſtem of behaviour which appears ſo oppoſite to the ſentiments he breathes. A ſecond time has his lordſhip now quoted the candid proceedings of the ſelect committee, on a late occaſion. I ſhall obſerve, once for all, that however his lordſhip may think me or others indebted to his mercy on that occaſion, I do not in the leaſt think myſelf, or them ſo. He would ſeem to inſinuate, that an enquiry was diſagreeable to himſelf, and that the relentleſs board, not ſatisfied with the former inſtance of moderation, now called upon him to perform the odious

task

task of producing new matter, to prove the neceſſity of reformation. His lordſhip acknowledges it is an odious task; it only requires to be known, whether his lordſhip himſelf, or who elſe was the occaſion of this enquiry, to find where the odium reſts. For my own part, I will declare my reaſons for demanding it, and now aver to this board, that before his lordſhip's arrival from Illahabad, I was informed he was collecting accuſations againſt me, up the country; and I heard, he gave out, I had committed extortions, that if known, would ſhock the ears of the world. I heard it was his intention to reſerve the ſubject of theſe complaints as a check on my opinion, whenever I ſhould dare to differ from him; and after his arrival, I was informed, that the ſearch for information was ſtill rigorouſly carried on at the city. Reports of this nature could not fail to give me concern; ſtill I waited with patience above a fortnight after his return, expecting he would himſelf communicate to me what was now become the topic of converſation, and ſubject of correſpondence to the whole ſettlement. But finding his lordſhip decline to afford me room for explanation, I was under neceſſity of demanding it in public; more eſpecially as a ſhip was on the eve of diſpatch to Europe, where reports to my prejudice might be carried unconfuted. Whether his lordſhip acted on that occaſion, a generous open part, or the reverſe; and whether the ſteps he has purſued ſince, in ſcraping together informations and accuſations from the meaneſt agents in detraction, are conſiſtent with his profeſſion of candour and moderation, I leave to the world to judge? In one once circumſtance, at leaſt, he ſeems to devi-

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ate from conſiſtency; had he been guided by the dictates of humanity, as he profeſſes, why did he divulge thoſe charges by inſinuations to others, as matters of fact; or had he been deſirous of ſeeing them accommodated, without being driven to the neceſſity of laying them before the board, how came he not to inform me privately, and allow me an opportunity of an explanation with him? The odious light in which his lordſhip has endeavoured to ſet forth the ſcheme I had propoſed for the relief of the proſtitutes of the town, as an inſtance of his counteracting the deſign of oppreſſion, is an earneſt of the candour I have to expect from him. If a tranſaction upon the ſpot, under the eyes of the council, and before the public, where the facts might ſoon be proved or diſproved, is ſo miſrepreſented, what juſtice have I to expect in the courſe of thoſe other reſearches made by his lordſhip's induſtry, in a remote diſtrict, and among a ſet of people whoſe opinion are guided by their intereſts, and their declarations prompted by their hope and fears.

Though the approbation of a man's own conſcience may render him ſatisfied with his own principles, yet we need not go far to ſeek for proof, that it is but little defence againſt the keen malevolence of ſlander and detraction, when ſupported by power and influence; and from what quarter the ſhafts of calumny are ſped, or ambitious reſentment flows, the impartial may decide. As to lord Clive's third minute, where he has ſnatched up the expreſſion, that I ſhould not have thought it wrong to receive the money offered by the proſtitutes on my account; I ſhall only obſerve, that

when

when ſetting aſide facts, he is reduced to the neceſſity of ſeizing words for his own purpoſes, his argument muſt be greatly degraded in his own opinion. My real meaning was, that as this money was a voluntary preſent, I ſhould not have been obnoxious to the imputation of exaction, had I even received it on my own account. But it implies not that I would benefit by ſo mean an offer; my conduct is proof to the contrary: and as I had rectified and explained myſelf to lord Clive, before he entered his minute, he had no right to take ſuch an unfair advantage; however, I confeſs, I do not regret the miſtake of an expreſſion, which has given his lordſhip an opportunity of diſplaying his method of argumentation. At the ſame time, as his lordſhip ſeems deſirous to undervalue and preclude every circumſtance in my favour, I think the atteſtations ſo much the more neceſſary; and therefore I deſire that thoſe who were preſent in the cutcherry, when I firſt took charge of the collectorſhip, and other gentlemen whom I call on, as being acquainted with my intentions, may appear, to declare upon oath, what they know of this affair. His lordſhip advances the neceſſity of a thorough reformation, his favourite theme. As it is one of the pillars on which he expects to raiſe his character, and to acquire eclat, it were to be wiſhed he would go on with his regulations, without injuring the character of thoſe who preceded him in the adminiſtration; and content himſelf with the aſſurance, that if his meaſures are preferable to theirs, they will ſufficiently diſtinguiſh themſelves, when he throws reflections on former governments, he ſhould

ſhould conſider what abuſes might have exiſted formerly during his own; eſpecially the frauds in the new works; which, though they eſcaped his obſervation, did not that of his vigilant ſucceſſor, Mr. Holwell, who by his diligence brought them to light, yet had too much generoſity to caſt an odium on a former adminiſtration, to draw from thence any arguments for the neceſſity of a thorough reformation.

His lordſhip's principal aim ſeems to be levelled againſt receiving preſents from the people of the government. I for my part, have never concealed from my friends, advantages which my ſtation has offered me in this reſpect, before the execution of the covenants; but I totally diſclaim and diſavow ever having made uſe of improper means, or undue influence, to acquire ſuch advantages, or having received them for diſhonourable ends. If my ſervants have been guilty, it was without my knowledge or conſent, and let them be called to a fair and impartial trial. I do not make this declaration in any degree as a confeſſion of any charges lord Clive has to produce: but I claim from it an occaſion, ſince retroſpects are begun and admitted, to ſtate to lord Clive ſome doubts which have ariſen to me, as they may probably, to many others, touching his conduct: which I ſhall be happy in affording his lordſhip an opportunity of clearing up, to the ſatisfaction of the world For this purpoſe, I propoſe to him the following queries.

1ſt. What was the purport and meaning of the fictitious treaty, ſigned by the ſelect committee in May 1757, by his lordſhip's deſire; and wherein did it differ from the real one, ſigned at the ſame time?

2nd. Whether the intent of this treaty was not to deceive Omichund?

3d. Whether Omichund was not, by this deception, deprived of a large ſum of money, from twenty-five to thirty-five lacks of rupees, which he had been promiſed, and made to expect?

4th. Whether that, or ſome ſuch ſum, was not ſtipulated before the acceſſion of Meer Jaffier, and afterwards divided amongſt ſundry gentlemen?

5th. Whether lord Clive, then colonel Clive, had not a principal ſhare in ſuch diſtribution?

6th. Whether admiral Watſon did not refuſe to ſign this fictitious treaty deeming it derogatory from his own character as a Britiſh officer? and whether notwithſtanding this refuſal, his name did not afterwards appear affixed to this treaty?

7th. Whether the argument for excluding admiral Watſon from a ſhare of the ſum was not, that he refuſed to put his hand to this fictitious treaty?

8th. Whether it is not for a ſhare of this ſum ſtipulated with Meer Jaffier before the battle of Plaſſey, that the heirs of admiral Watſon are now proſecuting?

9th. Whether, it was adviſeable, for public conſiderations, to deceive Omichund, or though he had rendered himſelf unworthy of ſo large a reward; whether, I aſk, was it becoming in lord, then colonel Clive, to receive a large proportion of ſuch a ſum for his own uſe, inſtead of appropriating it to the public ſervice; or by remitting it altogether to Meer Jaffier, enable him the ſooner to diſcharge his public engagements to the Engliſh?

(Signed) George Gray."

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The foregoing minute having been peruſed, and lord Clive proceeding to lay before the board a part of his charges againſt Mr. Gray, agreeably to the purpoſe of their preſent meeting; Mr. Gray, upon a declaration made by his lordſhip in the courſe of ſome previous converſation, entered the following farther minute:

"Previous to an enquiry, I muſt repreſent to the board, that as lord Clive has now declared before them, that he is determined to collect every information and evidence againſt me which he can, I conſider him as an accuſer, or at leaſt himſelf an evidence; and therefore I object againſt his ſitting in judgment on my conduct. Lord Clive replies, that he was diſpoſed, for motives of humanity, to conceal many charges which have been communicated to him againſt Mr. Gray; but as he ſeems not ſatisfied with this, but has publicly demanded their being laid before the board, his lordſhip thinks, that juſtice ſhould now take place of humanity, and that it is his duty, as governor, to lay before the board every circumſtance whatever which may come to his knowledge, and that he ſhall do it accordingly."

Extract from the proceedings of the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the 28th October 1765.

"General Carnac deſires to enter the following atteſtation, on the ſubject of the debate which occurred at the conſultation of the 14th inſtant, referred to in his and Mr. Leyceſter's minutes, entered on the proceedings of the 18th. I do ſolemnly ſwear, that I never had an idea of ſetting this up

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as a military government, being too well acquainted with the bleſſings of our civil conſtitution ever to wiſh to ſee a military government eſtabliſhed upon its ruins. In the debate which happened at the conſultation of the 14th inſtant, and which owes it's riſe to a queſtion, whether the preſident was authoriſed to place ſeapoys over Remnaut, or not, as is falſely aſſerted in Mr. Leyceſter's minute, whether the preſident had authority to confine our inhabitants by military guards; I declare upon oath, to the beſt of my recollection, the following was the purport of the converſation between Mr. Leyceſter and me. I obſerved there were emergencies which rendered next to abſolute neceſſity the having recourſe at times to military force, and particularly inſtanced the caſe of notorious offenders, who were endeavouring to, and might otherwiſe evade public juſtice, under which circumſtance, I aſſerted, I would myſelf execute military power. Mr. Leyceſter then ſaid repeatedly, he wiſhed I would do ſo by him. Being before warm with argument, and by his behaviour rendered more ſo, I replied with heat, that were even he in ſuch a caſe, I would be the firſt at the head of a party of ſeapoys."

And the general was accordingly ſworn to the ſame.

Lord Clive alſo delivers in, upon oath, the following declaration on the ſubject: "Some debates ariſing relative to the confinement of Remnaut, wherein the preſident obſerved there was a mixed government, a military as well as civil government; I do moſt ſolemnly ſwear, to the beſt of my memory and judgment, that the general expreſſed himſelf

himſelf in the following manner, or words to that purpoſe."

"The general declared that he knew the difference between the military and civil power, and that he would always ſupport the latter; but there were caſes of emergency, where notorious offenders wanted to eſcape from juſtice, when he would make uſe of military guards to ſeize ſuch:" upon which Mr. Leyceſter replied, "he ſhould not, or dared not to take him up." The general anſwered, "in ſuch an inſtance, he himſelf would go at the head of ſix ſea-poys, and ſeize him by the collar, and drag him to juſtice. Both the general and Mr. Leyceſter expreſſed themſelves with great warmth." And Mr. Vereſt, at his deſire, was ſworn to the truth of his relation on the ſubject entered on the ſaid conſultation of the 18th inſt.

Theſe atteſtations having been taken, Mr. Leyceſter requeſts the ſecretary may be called upon for his evidence of what paſſed, which he before deſired might appear. But the general deſires previouſly to put the following queſtions to Mr. Majendie, and that he will reply to them on oath.

Queſtion the firſt.

Whether he was not at the time of the debate actually employed in writing?

Queſtion the ſecond.

If he heard the whole of the converſation between Mr. Leyceſter and the general, on the ſubject of the conſtitution of this government; and if he can, upon oath, declare the particular expreſſions made uſe of by either of them? And the queſtions being therefore put accordingly, Mr. Majendie replied to them on oath, as follows:

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To the firſt, that he was partly engaged in writing at the time of the debate, but that his attention was very much ſo with what paſſed on the occaſion.

In anſwer to the ſecond queſtion, Mr. Majendie begs to refer to his relation, which he mentions he has prepared on the beſt of his recollection, in the ſame manner as the gentlemen of the board have delivered in their atteſtations, and contains the impartial whole, ſo far as appeared to him neceſſary to be noticed. He adds, that he cannot venture poſitively to declare, that no particular expreſſions eſcaped him, but is ready to anſwer any queſtions which may be put to him, to determine this point.

Mr. Majendie's relation being then required, he firſt ſubmitted to the board, the following minute which he brought prepared with it.

Conſidering my junior rank in the ſervice, together with the office which I have the honour to hold in it, of ſecretary to this council, I could wiſh, upon ſo particular an occaſion, as I have been called upon for my evidence, at laſt Friday's council, to be wholly excuſed from entering any; but if the honourable board ſhould ſtill think proper to have it appear, I hope they will, for thoſe reaſons, allow me the ſatisfaction of doing it only on oath.

(Signed) William Majendie.

And the board eſteeming his repreſentation therein very juſt, he was accordingly ſworn to the truth of his evidence, as follows:

"To the beſt of my recollection, what paſſed in the debate which aroſe at the conſultation of the

14th

14th inſt. touching the propriety of lord Clive's ſeizure and confinement of Mr. Gray's ſervant, Remnaut, with a guard of ſeapoys, is as follows: His lordſhip, in ſupport of that proceeding, urged, that this was a military as well as civil government; and general Carnac joined him in the argument in the ſame terms, explaining himſelf, by alledging, that there were many caſes in which the uſe of military force here was abſolutely requiſite, preferably to the civil; ſuch, for inſtance, as the immediate ſeizure of perſons, upon the imputation or ſuſpicion of villainous actions, to prevent their eſcape, which could not ſurely be effected with the few civil officers we entertain. This Mr. Leyceſter ſtrongly denied, and objected to, aſſerting, that our civil power was fully ſufficient to apprehend any perſon, and prevent his eſcape, and could with equal expedition; that no military force ſhould ever be uſed, unleſs called upon by the civil magiſtrate; that if any ſuch ſhould attempt the ſeizure of a ſervant of his, or any other perſon, without that authority, he would, in virtue of his quality and office, as one of his majeſty's juſtices of the peace, of which he ſhould conſider ſuch proceedings as an open violation, immediately commit the perſon or perſons employed on the occaſion. Hereupon the general repeated the neceſſity for the uſe of a military force in ſome caſes; and Mr. Leyceſter ſtill arguing againſt it, the general told him, he would not only ſeize his ſervants or others in that manner but himſelf, if thought he deſerved it.

(Signed) William Majendie, Sec."

Lord

Lord Clive now puts the following queſtion to Mr. Leyceſter, requiring his anſwer thereto, on oath: whether the whole of the converſation which paſſed between general Carnac and him on the ſubject of the conſtitution of this government, is contained in his minute on the ſubject?

To which Mr. Leyceſter replies, upon oath, accordingly, that the minute contains ſuch part of the converſation as occurred to him at the time he wrote it, and that, upon the atteſtations now delivered in, he recollects ſome circumſtances which had before entirely eſcaped him.

His lordſhip further aſks Mr. Leyceſter, whether he has not communicated the contents of his minute to ſome others beſide the members of the board?

And Mr. Leyceſter anſwers thereto in the affirmative.

Lord Clive now enters the following minute, in reply to Mr. Gray's late queſtions, put to him, and his, and Mr. Leyceſter's minutes.

Lord Clive's minute.

"Although I did not think myſelf obliged to anſwer any of Mr. Gray's queſtions, nor imagine that, were they anſwered agreeably to his expectations, they would in the leaſt exculpate him, if the facts with which he and his agents are charged ſhould be fully proved; yet as Mr. Gray may hope that my anſwers will be of ſervice to his cauſe, I ſhall, with great pleaſure, indulge him with particular anſwers to the ſeveral queſtions he has put to me in his minute of the 14th and 18th inſtant.

Anſwer

Anſwer to the firſt. In anſwer to his firſt query, I declare, that I have had in my poſſeſſion for upwards of two months, ſundry authentic papers, accuſing Mr. Gray and his gomaſtahs of having received ſeveral ſums of money by extortion and other methods; which papers I ſhall lay before the board for their more particular information. And I do further declare, that it was not my intention to make any uſe of theſe papers againſt Mr. Gray, unleſs I had found him ſtill perſevere in the practice of unwarrantable means to obtain money, or unleſs he had called upon me in the manner he has done, by his minute of the 25th September, 1765.

Anſwer to the ſecond. I do declare, upon my honour, that I never authorized any perſon whomſoever to demand, by threats of guards or puniſhment, any of Mr. Gray's private letters, or papers, or accounts, touching his fortune and connections. Anſwer to the third. I have placed military guards upon two men only. The evidence upon oath before the board, as well as before the committee. will convince the court of directors of the neceſſity of ſecuring one of them; the other Remnaut, now confined, is under charge of being a moſt notorious offender. He is accuſed of facts which, if proved true, muſt condemn him to every exemplary puniſhment: and he was confined to his houſe by a guard, upon intelligence I received, that he was going to fly the country. That I have placed a military guard upon any one ſince Mr. Gray called upon me to produce evidences againſt him is utterly falſe. Anſwer to the fourth. I did write a perwannah to Bolakydaſs, in anſwer to a letter from him the beginning of July laſt; but

when I heard, from Juggeſeat, what an enemy he had been to their fathers, I forbad him to come into my preſence, and upon my arrival ordered him to quit Calcutta; but upon Mr. Gray's minute, I ordered Bolakydaſs back again, to give the evidence I had before been informed of concerning Remnaut's conduct, in which Mr. Gray ſeems to be ſtrongly intereſted; and I ſhall certainly not decline to receive complaints of ſuch grievances as effect the honour or advantage of the company; nor will there be any occaſion, as Mr. Gray alledges there will, to make uſe of force or threats to obtain them. With regard to harpies and ſpies being employed to ſeize Bolakydaſs, when he quitted Calcutta, I never knew nor heard of any. I have given Bolakydaſs no encouragement; ſo far from it, I have told him, that when he was given his evidence upon oath, he muſt not expect the liberty of reſiding in Calcutta.

As to the laſt query, it will be time enough to anſwer it when Mr. Gray gives me the name of his authors.

I now proceed to trouble you with remarks upon and anſwers to ſome other queries contained in Mr. Gray's minute of the 14th inſtant, which are intended as a ſevere attack upon my honour, and therefore require particular attention. And though I flatter myſelf that my character ſtands too high in the opinion to mankind to be wounded by ſuch an accuſer, or by ſuch accuſations, yet it may not be improper for me to ſhew, that Mr. Gray's inſinuations are moſt of them void of all foundation, and that even thoſe which have a foundation, are moſt baſely injuriouſly ſtated.

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In the minute before us, Mr. Gray recurs to my former adminiſtration in the year 1757, and accuſes me of neglect at that time, in not diſcovering certain frauds in the new works. Mr. Gray was asked, whether by mentioning that circumſtance he meant to inſinuate that I had been any ways concerned in thoſe frauds, and he declared he did not. Mr. Gray dares not declare otherwiſe; and yet one would imagine ſuch an inſinuation was intended; for the gentlemen could not mean ſeriouſly to accuſe me of neglect, in not laying before the council thoſe frauds which never came to my ears or knowledge. Of a nature equally falſe and malicious is the purport of his queries concerning the fictitious treaty, in May 1757, to which I return the following anſwer. When Mr. Watts's negotiation at Murſhedabad with Meer Jaffier and Roy Doolub, was brought ſo near to a concluſion, that the treaty itſelf was drawn out, wherein it was ſpecified, that a hundred lacks ſhould be paid to the company, fifty lacks to the European ſufferers, twenty lacks to the natives, and ſeven lacks to the Armenians, Portugueſe, &c. Omichund, who had accompanied Mr. Watts to the city, was ſo far from being ſatisfied with what was to fall to his ſhare; that he declared, unleſs a very large ſum, to the beſt of my remembrance it was not leſs than fifty lacks, was ſtipulated for himſelf in particular, and unleſs he ſhould alſo be allowed five per cent. on all Surajah Dowlah's treaſure, he would divulge the ſecrets of the whole negociation. Theſe circumſtances Mr. Watts immediately communicated to me, expreſſing the moſt dreadful apprehenſions of the conſequences, and intreating me to get Omichund

chund down to Calcutta, and ſatisfy him, or ſhould all be undone. When I conſidered, that the lives of ſo many Britiſh ſubjects were concerned in the event of this affair, as well as that the whole of the poſſeſſions of the company and of individuals was at ſtake, I did not heſitate a moment to determine upon a ſcheme that ſhould ſecure the ſucceſs of our plan, and at the ſame time diſappoint the expectations of ſo treacherous a villain, for theſe purpoſes I myſelf propoſed there ſhould be two treaties, a real one, and a fictitious one: the latter I intended merely as a deception to Omichund. This propoſal was unanimouſly approved by the gentlemen of the ſelect committee; and were we again in the like circumſtances, I ſhould moſt certainly think myſelf authorized to act in the ſame manner. That Mr. Watſon did not ſign the fictitious treaty is matter of fact; but I can with the greateſt truth at the ſame time affirm, that he gave another gentleman leave to ſign it for him, and to affix his ſeal. With regard to theſe queſtions, whether the ſum ſtipulated in the fictitious treaty for Omichund was not ſtruck off on purpoſe to be afterwards divided among ſundry gentlemen, and whether I had not a principal ſhare in ſuch diſtribution, they have not the leaſt foundation in truth. I do declare upon my honour, I never did ſtipulate with Meer Jaffier, or any other perſon, directly or indirectly, either before or after the battle of Plaſſey, for any ſum or ſums of money whatever, (the committee money excepted.) The gentlemen of the committee empowered me to write to Mr. Watts upon the ſubject of that money; at the ſame time he was ordered to ſtipulate for a donation for the

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navy and army. This tranſaction has been approved of by the court of directors under their own hands. The heirs of admiral Watſon are now ſuing for the money mentioned by Mr. Gray; they are ſuing for a ſhare of the committee money, and no other: nor was ſuch an agreement as mentioned in Mr. Gray's ſeventh query ever made or thought of by any gentlemen to my knowledge.

The whole ſtring of queries having been formed by Mr. Gray upon a ſuppoſition that the money ſtipulated for Omichund, in the fictitious treaty, was received and divided among Engliſh gentlemen; which ſuppoſition being abſolutely falſe, I conclude, no farther reply to them is neceſſary.

I ſhall now proceed to take notice of the general tendency of Mr. Gray's and Mr. Leiceſter's minute jointly: they are at great pains to inſinuate, that I have infringed the liberty of the ſubject by the exertion of military force, and that I am endeavouring to ſubvert the laws and rights of our civil conſtitution; I beg leave to trouble you with my ſentiments on theſe ſubjects; and ſhall ſubmit to your judgment, whether my proceedings have been arbitrary, oppreſſive, or unprecedented.

As I am not a very young ſervant of the company, and have been twice honoured with the preſidentſhip of this ſettlement, think I may without vanity preſume, that my knowledge is not inferior to Mr. Gray's or Mr. Leyceſter's in the power and duties of a governor. The reſpect I have for the laws of my country will always prevent my exerciſing a military force to apprehend any Britiſh ſubject, unleſs in caſes of a very heinous nature, and when the offender might otherwiſe eſcape from the

the juſtice of a civil power, to whom he muſt of courſe be given up.

But with regard to the natives of India. I cannot conſider them as Britiſh ſubjects: and the court of directors have cautioned us againſt putting our laws in execution on them. Were we to conſider them as Britiſh ſubjects, our political government would be at an end. The power of the governor and council would be transferred to the mayor's court, and with it the whole authority of the company, as if the charter for the eſtabliſhment of that court had been obtained to make the mayor and aldermen maſters over the company. Beſides, were the natives within our diſtricts to be, on every occaſion, proſecuted by the laws of our country, the inns of court would hardly be able to ſupply us with a ſufficient number of lawyers; and the objection would nevertheleſs remain, that if the Indians will not of their own accord comply with the forms of the laws of England, we have no right to compel them: for what they have ſaid, is true, that no prince has power or authority over the ſubjects of another prince, unleſs it be by their reſiding in his dominions, or by voluntary conceſſion, conſent, &c. and there are undoubtedly inſtances where the company's ſervants could not juſtify themſelves, if they were to admit the natives to the benefit of our laws, even at their own requeſt. The company's advantages and poſſeſſions in India are maintained by the civil joined with the military power. The adminiſtration of their ſettlements, ſo far as reſpects the ſubject of Great Britain, is purely civil; except in ſuch caſes as come particularly under the cognizance of martial law; but the civil admi-

adminiſtration has a right to command aſſiſtance of the military, in ſecuring offenders. This is allowed of by the laws of England, and is frequently practiſed though the two powers there are rather more diſtinct than in India. Here the civil governor has a commiſſion, as a commander in chief of the forces, and as ſuch hath power in himſelf to exerciſe a military authority in ſupport of the civil. This is an inſtitution founded on a very wiſe and evident reaſon; for as the governor muſt always have the earlieſt intelligence of matters relating to his government, and of importance to the public intereſt, it is neceſſary he ſhould be inveſted with the power of providing inſtantly for the ſecurity of the ſtate; nor can that power be very dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject, where military diſcipline is regulated upon the model of civil adminiſtration. *

But we are not to imagine, that criminal actions alone endanger our principle of goverment. It is endangered by licentiousneſs, extortion, venality, by whatever eludes, though it may not openly violate; by whatever tends to weaken, though it may not totally ſubvert the laws. Theſe among numberleſs other caſes, fall immediately under the obſervation of a governor, and it is his duty to endeavour to eradicate them, with every exemplary ſeverity

* When lord Clive's right to the jagueer was diſputed by the company, his lordſhip aſſigned as reaſons for not purſuing his remedy in the mayor's court: That the judges were dependants upon the company; that the appeal lay to their preſident and council, and that even the perſon employed on his behalf muſt be dependant on the company.

verity, when occaſion demands it. If in the execution of his office he is guilty of oppreſſion towards any of his majeſty's ſubjects, an act of parliament points out a legal mode of redreſs. If his oppreſſion fall upon a ſubject of the country government, he is ſtill amenable to juſtice. In any trifling cauſes eſpecially, againſt a Britiſh ſubject, a governor will act merely as a juſtice of the peace; but in caſes which affect the company's affairs, in caſe of a villainous nature between man and man, particularly extortions which too often happens among the natives of this deſpotic empire, whether ſupported or not by us; in caſes where the temper, the moderation, the juſtice of the company's government is concerned: in caſes of ſuch a nature, I ſay, a governor will act not only as juſtice of the peace, but as governor; he will not only as a magiſtrate commit to confinement, but will, if he judge neceſſary, as commander in chief of the forces, aſſume his military power, to prevent the offenders eſcape. If the deſcription I have given of the duty and authority of a governor be a juſt one, the point before us requires no farther argument; and it will be a ſufficient anſwer to Mr. Gray's queſtion, whether I being a juſtice of the peace, having not a placed military guard over inhabitants of this ſettlement, to obſerve, that being a juſtice of the peace, did not, but that I, being a governor, did place military guards over Mooteram and Remnaut, neither of them inhabitants of this ſettlement. Were I, however inclined to reſt the deciſion where I ſhould perhaps be juſtified in reſting it, upon the practice of former governors, I could produce to

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this board a liſt of no leſs than two-and-thirty precedents of black men, ſome of whom were counſellors, banyans, being confined for months together under military guards, by order of my predeceſſors, within theſe fourteen years paſt; and moſt of theſe precedents relate actually to inhabitants of Calcutta; whereas the caſe before us does not. Remnaut is an inhabitant of Maldah, two hundred and fifty miles from Calcutta; his houſe, his family, are theſe, and he is only a ſojourner at this ſettlement; an agent for the buſineſs of extortion, in which Mr. Gray and Leyceſter ſeem vexed to find him detected; for whether it be the man or his crimes they mean to defend, is hard to diſtinguiſh. To aſſert from the caſe of Remnaut, that I am attempting to eſtabliſh a military government, and to ſubvert the laws of my country, is unjuſt and abſurd to the higheſt degree. Mr. Leyceſter's minute upon the occaſion, is ſo extravagantly romantic and declamatory, that I ſhall here take little notice of it, excepting as to the falſity of its foundation, viz. That a debate aroſe on a queſtion, whether the preſident had the authority to confine our inhabitants by military guards from inſtances which had really happened. I appeal to every gentleman then at the board, whether ſuch a queſtion did ariſe, or whether ſuch inſtances happened? To a new reader Mr. Leyceſter's minute might perhaps convey a notion that I had made a general ſeizure of all the European inhabitants of Calcutta, ſet guards upon their houſes, and intended to draw the ſword againſt every aſſertor of law and liberty. A ſingle perſon, a black man, accuſed of a heinous crime, meditating an eſcape from juſtice, is confined to his houſe

a few ſeapoys according to the uſual cuſtom; and upon this circumſtance alone, Mr. Leyceſter like a true leader of party, thinks it incumbent on him to ſtand forth the champion of his injured country; declaims upon the Britiſh conſtitution, civil rights, military force, arbitrary power, and the liberty of the ſubject. I demand, ſays he, that the guards be removed from the houſes of the inhabitants, that not only I, but the whole ſettlement may in confidence and ſafety attend the company's and our own concerns. In a London news-paper ſuch an harangue might ſerve to alarm weak minds, and draw recruits to the ſtandard of faction; but on the face of our conſultations where truth and facts are conſpicuous, it muſt appear a falſehood of the moſt dangerous tendency, and calculated to anſwer the worſt of purpoſes. I therefore deſire the following queſtion may be put to this board:

Whether any of the debates which paſſed at this board, on Monday the 14th inſtant, relative to the conſtitution of this government, and particularly, whether any expreſſions that fell from the preſident, on that ſubject, could give the leaſt ground for ſuſpecting that a military power was going to be ſet up in oppoſition to the civil adminiſtration of this ſettlement?

(Signed) Clive."

The queſtion propoſed at the concluſion of his lordſhip's minute, being put accordingly to the ſeveral members.

"Mr. Gray declares, in anſwer; yes, for that if he had not thought what paſſed at the board gave ground

ground for ſuch ſuſpicion, he ſhould not have thought it worth notice."

Mr. Leyceſter replies, that the expreſſion which fell from the preſident, on the occaſion, gave him room to ſuſpect, that he was intending to ſet up a military power very inconſiſtent with our civil juriſdiction.

Mr. Vereſt thinks there was no reaſon for ſuch opinion. The general thinks the ſame, and that the entertaining ſuch was highly injurious to his lordſhip. Mr. Sumner, not having been preſent when the debate occurred, can give no reply to this queſtion. And thoſe anſwers of the other members having been therefore taken, the general deſires the ſame queſtion may be repeated on his behalf, to them and his lordſhip. "The other members reply ſeverally in the ſame terms as before, and his lordſhip as follows: That he cannot doubt it, after the declarations the general has made; and he has moreover authority to ſay, that he has many times heard the general expreſs ſentiments much the reverſe. Mr. Vereſt upon the foregoing proceedings, propoſes to the board the following queſtions, and requeſts their ſentiments in anſwer.

Whether it does not appear to them, that Mr. Leyceſter was the author and propagator of the injurious report ſpread through the ſettlement; that a military power was going to be ſet up, in oppoſition to the civil adminiſtration?

Mr. Gray refers to Mr. Leyceſter's avowal, but cannot ſay whether he was the firſt propagator: Mr. Vereſt thinks he was ſo, from his own confeſſion. The general does the ſame. Mr. Sumner requeſts

requeſts the anſwers of the other members to the following queſtion, before he can reply to the one propoſed by Mr. Verelſt:

Whether none of them mentioned what paſſed at the board after the council, to others beſides the members of the board?

Mr. Gray replies, that he did, and the expreſſions which he recollect to have paſſed, when compared with circumſtances and facts which had at that time happened, appeared to him of ſuch a nature, that he thought himſelf under a neceſſity of asking the opinion of others what ſtreſs, or weight ſhould be laid upon them; at the ſame time, if by the injurious reports mentioned in Mr. Verelſt's queſtions, are meant aggravations beyond what is ſet forth in Mr. Leyceſter's minute, on the ſubject of the debate, and what Mr. Gray has himſelf declared upon oath, he denies ever having propagated ſuch.

The general and lord Clive declare, that they never mentioned the circumſtance, except when they were obliged to it, in juſtification to themſelves, upon the reports being communicated to them. Mr. Sumner now obſerves, in reply to Mr. Verelſt's queſtion, that upon Mr. Gray's declaration it appears to him, the circumſtances have been mentioned by him as well as by Mr. Leyceſter.

Lord Clive thinks Mr. Leyceſter was the author and propagator of the report in the queſtion.

Mr. Leyceſter, upon the declarations and opinions given by his lordſhip, deſires to ask him.

Whether he does not recollect mentioning in company, proceedings and reſolutions of the ſelect committee, that have not yet been made known to

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the board. His lordſhip denying his having done ſo, Mr. Leyceſter declares, that he has himſelf heard him make mention of them, and is ready to atteſt the ſame upon oath, and lord Clive's minutes, in reply to this declaration, That to the beſt of his recollection, he never did make mention of the proceeding of the committee, as Mr. Leyceſter aſſerts; but that it is very poſſible he has, as he may not always have been ſo much upon his guard, but that at times, expreſſions may have ſlipt from him, to give an inſight into them? His lordſhip now deſires Mr. Leyceſter may withdraw, having ſomething to propoſe to the board concerning him, at which it is not proper he ſhould be preſent: and Mr. Leyceſter retires accordingly, minuting, That he ſhall give in reply to theſe proceedings, at the next meeting of the board.

Mr. Leyceſter being withdrawn, his lordſhip lays before the board the following reſolution for his ſuſpenſion: Mr. Leyceſter, a member of this board, having induſtriouſly propagated a report, that a military power was going to be ſet up, in oppoſition to the civil adminiſtration of this ſettlement?

Reſolved, That the ſaid report is a moſt groſs and ſcandalous falſehood, tending to excite diſcontent, to promote faction, to alarm the minds of the inhabitants, and to introduce confuſion in the company's affairs: That Mr. Leyceſter, in propagating the ſaid report, is guilty of unfaithfulneſs to the duty of the ſervice, and a breach of that truſt and confidence repoſed in him by his employers; who expect from all their ſervants a ſtrict attention to the happineſs, unanimity, and harmony of the ſettle-

ſettlement; that he is therefore unworthy of any ſtation in the company's ſervice, and that he is accordingly ſuſpended, until the pleaſure of the court of directors be known.

Mr. Gray enters his diſſent to the reſolution, as follows:

I diſſent from the reſolution of the preſident, as Mr. Leyceſter has not had an opportunity to anſwer what has this day paſſed; which before he withdrew he intimated to the ſecretary, it was his intention to do: and further, lord Clive, as well as general Carnac, having declared themſelves injured by that gentleman's conduct, I conſidered them as parties in the debate, and think they cannot with propriety have a vote.

The amount of my reaſons for this diſſent therefore is, "That Mr. Leyceſter is about to be judged by his accuſers, and judged unheard: I ſhall deliver in my ſentiments more at large hereafter. Mr. Verelſt and the general approved of the reſolution in the following minutes."

Mr. Verelſt's.

Mr. Verelſt is ſorry he is obliged to concur in the reſolution propoſed by his lordſhip, but Mr. Leyceſter's conduct; in ſo induſtriouſly propagating an aſſertion falſe in itſelf, and injurious to this government, is ſuch, that he thinks he ſhould be deficient in his duty to his employers, was he not to join in ſhewing a neceſſary reſentment on the occaſion, and therefore he aſſents to the reſolution propoſed.

The General's.

The minute given in by Mr. Leyceſter, and his having induſtriouſly propagated the ſame through the

the ſettlement to inflame the minds of the inhabitants, is ſuch an indignity upon the government, that the general ſhould think himſelf highly deficient in the duty he owes thereunto, did he not concur in the reſolution offered by his lordſhip.

Mr. Gray lays before the board the following defence to ſuch part of his lordſhip's charges, and the proceedings thereon, as have already appeared.

It was not my intention to have anſwered to any of the charges brought againſt me untill the whole ſhould be finiſhed; but as there is a pauſe at preſent in the enquiries, I ſhall now reply to what has been hitherto brought forth; and for this purpoſe I think it will be the eaſieſt and ſhorteſt way of obviating the inſinuations to my prejudice; to give a faithful account of my conduct on the occaſion, where I am now accuſed before the board, without giving either the board or myſelf the trouble of animadverting on the informations of perſons brought as evidence.

1ſt. Touching the ſuſpicion lord Clive has pleaſed to ſet forth, concerning the preſent the Nabob gave me after his ſucceſſion to the ſubahdary; and the reaſon for it is well known, that my motive for going to the city was to meet general Carnac on his way to the army; and the deſire of ſeeing major Munro, on his return from the army, detained me there. The old nabob in the interim was dangerouſly ill when theſe two gentlemen left the city, and propoſed to return to Meldah; but Mr. Middleton, then reſident at the Durbar, requeſted I would ſtay with him for ſome time, till the nabob's illneſs ſhould come to a criſis; and in compliance with his requeſt, I did ſtay: about two or three days after

after the general left the city, the old nabob apprehending his end approached, gave his eldeſt ſon, Nujam al Dowlah, a Khelaat to tranſact the buſineſs of the ſubahdary, and circulatory letters were ſent to all the officers of the government to obey him, which is the common way of declaring the ſucceſſor. Mr. Middleton informed the preſidency of this event, and of the nabob's dangerous ſtate; and he received orders to ſupport the nabob's family, he believed without the ſmalleſt doubt, it was the intention of the board, that Naſſim al Dowlah, the nabob's eldeſt ſon and his declared heir, ſhould ſucceed in caſe of the nabob's death; and he aſked my opinion, which concurred with his. No inſtructions, advices or hints ever gave him reaſon to ſuſpect the contrary; and had other plans been formed, it ſhould have been communicated to him, ſince the nabob's danger was well known. Accordingly when the old nabob expired, and the officers of the government were about to proclaim the young nabob, and deſired Mr. Middleton to attend the ceremony, that gentleman thought he could not properly give his refuſal, which might be attended with very bad conſequences. Mr. Middleton deſired me, and other gentlemen, to accompany him; and in compliance with his requeſt, we went along with him to the Kella. I muſt obſerve here, that being but a private viſitor with Mr. Middleton, and only giving my opinion when aſked, no part of the merit due to Mr. Middleton in this tranſaction would come to my ſhare; and that gentleman had the pleaſure of finding his conduct approved of by the board, which I think ſhould have prevented any ſuſpicion

or enquiry on this occaſion. Some days after the young Nabob's appearance in public I was offered a preſent, as a conſideration for my expences from Maldah, which I at firſt declined, from an apprehenſion my acceptance might afford malice a pretence againſt me. But it was alledged, my refuſal would make the Nabob uneaſy, who would think I was his enemy; and that it would ſeem as if I was affronted at the ſmallneſs of the offer. And I declare it was not till after this remonſtrance that I conſented to receive it. I deſired captain Stables may be called upon to atteſt what he knows of this affair.

Balakydaſs who had been a banker, or ſhroff to Meer Caſſim, and was carried up by him in his retreat, after ſuffering many hardſhips both from Meer Coſſim and Sujah al Dowlah, at laſt abſconded leſt he ſhould be ſeized and plundered by the officers of the Nabob's government; I thought his caſe particularly hard, that in his mercantile capacity he ſhould be deprived of the benefit of our protection. He had ſent down one Shemball in order to ſolicit leave for him to return to Bengal, after his agent had ſet forth Balakydaſs's deplorable ſtate, I informed Mr. Spencer then governor, of what I had heard; and he concurring with me in opinion, that it would be beneficial to the country, to give Balakydaſs and every other merchant in the ſame circumſtances, encouragement to re-ſettle in theſe provinces, from a motive of real humanity, as well as from a political view, that gentlemen granted him a perwannah to return.

I ſent the perwannah and a letter of my own with Shemball, who was the only perſon acquainted with the place of Balakydaſs's retreat. They returned both, and Balakydaſs expreſſed very great ſatiſ-

faction in the protection and favour he had received, and ſome time after he offered me a preſent, which I had no intention to accept.

Balakydaſs had alſo obtained a perwannah from lord Clive; this was a ſufficient ſanction for him to remain at Calcutta in ſafety. He accordingly lived in the place openly, and made an application to the board for payment of a ſum of money borrowed from him at Ducca; and no objections were ever ſtarted to his reſiding at Calcutta, until the return of lord Clive; who, notwithſtanding the circumſtance of his own perwannah and Balakydaſs's application to the board, ſent his chuldar with orders to turn him out of our ſettlement and protection. He had lent no leſs than 230,000 rupees to the company in their diſtreſs in 1763; not being able to obtain juſtice in Bengal, he was reduced to the neceſſity of ſending an agent to England to ſolicit payment from the directors, who at laſt gave orders to their preſident and council to pay off his demand. Balakydaſs in the utmoſt diſtreſs and apprehenſion, ſhould he fall into the hands of Mahomed Reza Khawn his mortal enemy, ſent to inform me of his ſituation, and begged I would ſave his life and honour. I was ſhocked at this tranſaction, and ſympathiſing with the diſtreſſes of a man to whom I had promiſed aſſiſtance, I thought it my duty to give him ſhelter in one of the pergunnah's under my charge. He remained in his retreat, till after I had deſired lord Clive to lay before the board the informations he had received touching my conduct; when his lordſhip, in diligent ſearch for charges againſt me, having diſcovered Balakydaſs's retreat, ſent for him to town,

received

received him into favour, and demanded a relation from him of all that had paſſed between him and me.

When Shemball mentioned the great obligation Balakydaſs would lay under to me, if I could aſſiſt him, and that he would not fail to acknowledge it by a conſiderable preſent, I anſwered it is very well, I ſhall be glad effectually to aſſiſt Balakydaſs, and then it will be time enough to think of a preſent. But this never implied a bargain for myſelf; and my ſubſequent refuſal of an offer actually tendered me by Balakydaſs himſelf, ſhould put the matter beyond a doubt.

I have been informed lord Clive makes a practice of ſending for people produced as evidence againſt me, and that his lordſhip, holds private converſations with them touching their informations. As it is publickly known that lord Clive bears a profeſſed reſentment againſt me, it is inconſiſtent with candour and juſtice that his lordſhip, with the power he is veſted with, ſhould carry on ſuch ſecret correſpondence. The ſole buſineſs of theſe evidences before lord Clive is to accuſe, and the hopes of his lordſhip's favour, or the fear of his reſentment byaſs their declarations.

Such avowed encouragement did lord Clive give to informers, that he eſpouſed publicly the cauſe of one Benodram, a notorious informer, and an infamous villain. Lord Clive finding him uſeful in his inquiries, uſed all his power and influence over the Gentoo inhabitants, to procure his re-admiſſion into his ſect, of which he had been deprived, and excluded in conſequence from the ſociety of thoſe

of

of his own religion. His lordſhip's mandate was incompatible with their tenets, as an odious authority over the conſequences of a ſect and nation untitled to our regard and protection. An attempt of ſo extraordinary a nature cauſed the Engliſh name to be held in the utmoſt abhorrence and deteſtation by all the Gentoo tribes in Indoſtan; and the character of the perſon in whoſe favour they unprecedented ſketch of authority had been exerciſed muſt add contempt to hatred. This Bandaram in whoſe favour, and for whoſe benefit, lord Clive had uſurped ſuch a power over mens conſcience, had been whipt at Calcutta for notorious frauds, by an order of the preſident and council; a moſt worthy object of his lordſhip's protection.

Mr. Gray's minute touching the conduct of lord Clive, general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt, towards himſelf and Mr. Leyceſter.

" LordClive's conduct towards ſome members of this board has been ſo extraordinary of late, that every one muſt be alarmed at the proſpect of ill conſequences, that ſeem to threaten thoſe who entertain any opinion different from his, or who dare to avow ſuch ſentiments. The bad effects ſuch a tenor of conduct muſt have upon a board where opinions ought to be free, and unguarded by impreſſions of awe, or the allurement of favour and partiality is obvious. Freedom of ſentiment once deſtroyed, that body which ought to conſult together, becomes nothing more than the mere approvers and abettors of what ever an arbitrary preſident may be pleaſed to dictate them.

" When from the noble preſident's expreſſions, it was ſuſpected that a military power was to be ſet

up

ſet up in oppoſition to the civil adminiſtration of this ſettlement, lord Clive and general Carnac never contradicted this opinion; on the contrary his lordſhip declared this to be a military as well as a civil government, and the general ſupported this declaration, adding, that he would not ſcruple to ſerve Mr. Leyceſter ſo, if he thought he deſired it. Mr. Leyceſter and myſelf hear felt the principal violence of his lordſhip's implacable reſentment, by the ſuſpenſion of one and the perſecution of the other; the declarations of the noble preſident and the general were corroborated by real facts, ſuch as the ſeizure by military guards and detention of Mooteram, a ſervant of Mr. Johnſtone's, the ſeizure and detention of Remnant, a ſervant of mine; his lordſhip's public avowal of his intention to uſe military force over Mr. Peacock; theſe violent and arbitrary proceedings clearly prove that his lordſhip intended to aſſume a military authourity over the inhabitants, in virtue of which he might ſeize the ſervant of any perſon, that was become obnoxious to him.

Mr. Leyceſter's abilities, integrity and attention to the company's intereſt were univerſally known. He was wantonly ſacrificed to the noble governor's ambitious deſire of ruling without controul. The arbitrary ſuſpenſion of this valuable member of the board was carried by a majority of three againſt two, of the three lord Clive and general Carnac was parties concerned, and revenging their own cauſe; the third member Mr. Vereſt, ſhewed by his concurrence to this iniquitous ſuſpenſion, his ſervile tenets of paſſive obedience; the haſty advantage they took of this occaſional majority

rity, ſhews they were conſcious, ſuch a violent procedure could not have been adopted by a few and impartial board. As Mr. Burdett, another victim devoted to Lord Clive's deſtruction, juſtly obſerved, his lordſhip was determined to oblige every one to quit the ſervice, who dared to differ from him in opinion. I am now, ſays Mr. Gray, the only member remaining at the board, who joined Mr. Burdett, on the occaſion of his diſpute with lord Clive, and have had ſufficient proof that I muſt expect the ſame fate with Mr. Leyceſter, by the ſame means, but heartily diſguſted with being witneſs to meaſures ſo inconſiſtent with juſtice, honour and generoſity, as well as the intereſts of our honourable employers, and at the ſame time unwilling to remain longer the dupe of an uſurped and arbitrary power, I now take my leave of the board, where I deſire they will conſider my ſeat as vacated, for I can ſubmit to attend no longer at a meeting, where I have to expect nothing but the moſt virulent and injurious attacks upon my own character, and that of my friends; I wiſh nothing more than an opportunity to manifeſt to the world, the practices which have been made uſe of to injure me. I muſt on this occaſion, inform my honourable employers, that I am compelled to this ſudden abdication of their ſervice, and to the relinquiſhment of all the proſpects of benefiting my fortune, which I hope to have reaped from the continuance of their favour, by the preſident's cruel perſecution of myſelf, and the ill treatment of my friends.

In anſwer to a letter of Mr. Leyceſter, containing a repreſentation reſpecting the ſervice of a Gomaſtah

maſtah, in his employ at Denegepoor by lord Clive, the following is his lordſhip's reply.

Calcutta, the 18th November, 1765.

"Sir,

"Your agent ſtopped and took away a letter directed to me, and that the meſſenger in conſequence of my repreſentation and complaint, Mahommed Reza Khawn thought proper to ſend him down to Calcutta; as ſoon as this affair has been enquired into, he ſhall have my permiſſion to proceed again up the country. At the time of my complaining to Mahommed Reza Khawn, I did not know that the man was a ſervant of your's; he cannot, however, be privileged by that, or any other ſtation, to commit violence and oppreſſion, or be exempt from puniſhment.

I am, Sir,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

(Signed) Clive."

Mr. Leyceſter, upon the occaſion of his late ſuſpenſion, ſent the following addreſs to the noble preſident and council of Fort William.

"My lord and gentlemen,

"When I left my ſeat at the board at the motion of the preſident, on the 28th of October, having informed the council I ſhould reply at large to the occurrences of the day, I was greatly amazed to find by a letter from your ſecretary, that lord Clive, general Carnac, and Mr. Verelſt, having taken an advantage of their accidental majority, had ſuſpended me the ſervice, without admitting me the pri-

privilege of a hearing; and on a ſubject where lord Clive and general Carnac being parties concerned, and accuſed by me, ought certainly not to have given a vote. Although that hearing now can by no means anſwer the end, I could then have depended to have received from it; yet to defend and juſtify myſelf to the world, I muſt beg a place in your records for what I have here ſet forth."

Lord Clive in defence of an arbitrary and oppreſſive conduct in the ſeizure and confinement of Mr. Gray's ſervant by military guards, took occaſion on the 14th of October, to declare this to be a military as well as civil government; and in virtue of the former, ſeemed by the alluſion, to claim the right of uſing military guards in the company's ſettlements, our men not ſubject to martial law, whenever he ſhall think the crimes laid to their charge ſhall merit ſuch treatment. General Carnac joined in the opinion of its being a military as well as a civil government, and ſupported the neceſſity of ſuch a government.

Declarations of ſuch a tendency, from a governor who holds ſo high a military commiſſion, and ſupported by another military officer at our board, would alone be ſufficient to alarm the body of the inhabitants; and when the circumſtance which drew forth the explanation of their ſentiments comes to be conſidered, they will have ſtill greater cauſe to be jealous of ſuch aſſertions. To the inſtances Lord Clive had already given of his propenſity to aſſert his military power, he added a freſh example in the ſeizure and detention of Remnaut, a ſervant of Mr. Gray's, who muſt by our laws be conſidered as an inhabitant of Calcuttta.

When

When a governor of this ſettlement, at once ſuperſeding the benefits which the inhabitants are intitled to from the laws of England, holds a man in military confinement, within the limits, and under the age of our civil courts, every man I think muſt be alarmed, ſince deducing arguments from facts, each individual lies equally expoſed to the ſame violence and hardſhip. It may be my lot next to have my banyan and dependant ſeized by military guards; and though the misfortune ſhould not befal me, am I to conſider myſelf indebted to the clemency of lord Clive, from privileges derived from our happy conſtitution, and which we have all an equal title to enjoy? no, I would rather beg my bread under any other government than that myſelf and ſervants ſhould be expoſed to the violence and caprice of any one man. The full benefits of Britiſh laws have, by proclamation of the king's judges, at their quarterly ſeſſions, been extended to our black inhabitants of whatever caſt and profeſſion, and indeed as they ſuffer the penalty of our laws, it is reaſonable they ſhould reap the advantages of their protection. Remnaut uncondemned and unheard, has for many weeks been kept under military guards; and though a civil inhabitant, and therefore not ſubject to martial laws, he has ſuffered puniſhment, without the opportunity allowed him to make his defence, or without any proofs of crimes or miſdemeanors committed by him, and he is ſtill held in a ſtate of confinement; that I conſider as an inſult upon our laws, and a violation of liberty.

I enter not into the merits of the man; but muſt inſiſt, that if the authority exerciſed over him in

Calcutta be once admitted, ſcarce any man can live ſecure, when accuſations proved or not, can involve the perſon againſt whom they are levelled in immediate diſtreſs, or ruin; eſpecially in this country, where the people are more frequently hurried away by motives of reſentment, or hopes of gaining favour and intreſt, to invent malicious and falſe accuſations, than perhaps in any other country in the world. If Remnaut has committed offences againſt the country government, I will venture to ſay Mr. Gray never wiſhed to protect him from juſtice. But nothing can vindicate the breach of our laws and privileges, whatever may have been Remnaut's crimes, he was not noticed, or ſeized, till his maſter, (Mr. Gray) demanded that Lord Clive, if he had any charges againſt him, ſhould lay them before the board. The ſeizure of his ſervant, by military guards, appeared the firſt conſequence of this call on Lord Clive. Let any gentleman, for a moment, put himſelf in Mr. Gray's ſituation; ſuppoſe a ſervant, in whoſe integrity you confided, and to whom you intruſted the ſecrets of your affairs, taken away from you by a band of ſoldiers, and not allowed the privilege of an interview; the man kept for many weeks under military guards, in a ſettlement protected by Britiſh laws, from which Mr. Gray, a magiſtrate and a member of the government, is denied that relief, which the pooreſt man in his own country cannot be deprived of, let any gentlemen, I ſay, put himſelf in this ſituation, and it muſt awake his feelings for Mr. Gray.

It is not my tenderneſs perſonally to Remnaut, that has intereſted me in this debate. It is the

injury

injury done to the privileges of the ſubject; and that it appears to me, Remnaut has been oppreſſed deſignedly, to inſult his maſter (Mr. Gray,) and an eaſy inference may be made, that if lord Clive has the right to make this uſe of the company's ſoldiers in one caſe, he may, under pretext of diſcovering criminal practices, extend the ſame violence over any other member of the community.

If ſuch declarations, corroborated by ſuch facts, do not give reaſonable cauſe to ſuppoſe that lord Clive was meaning to aſſert a military authority inconſiſtent with our civil juriſdiction, I know not what can, we feil the effects of his deſpotic military ſyſtem, we hear it avowed, and yet are not to believe he has had any bad deſign.

Such were my ſentiments, and three days only elapſed before, by a minute to the board, I expreſſed my apprehenſions, and gave thoſe gentlemen the earlieſt opportunity to explain themſelves.

Regardleſs of my remonſtrance, or of the alarm that muſt enſue from his ſilence, lord Clive allowed my addreſs, ſo far as regarded him, to reſt unnoticed for ten days; the two councils intervened; and, as if ſuperior to the acknowledgment of an error, and inattentive to what ſentiments might prevail, while my minute lay yet unanſwered, he threatened the uſe of military guards to ſend one Mr. Peacock to Europe under plea of an act of parliament to reſtrain unlicenſed perſons from coming to India: adding inſultingly, that he ſuppoſed another uproar would be made about military guards. Mr. Peacock did not, I believe, enjoy the company's licenſe, but had long been allowed to trade in Bengal: had ſerved the company in a military capacity, and had been called upon in-

injuries, all which ought to have ſaved him from ſuch threats, and as in the preſent inſtance, there was no reaſon to ſuppoſe a civil officer could not equally have executed the act; if it was to be put in force, the mention of military guards on ſuch an occaſion was only calculatad to create a dread of his authority, or to inſult thoſe who durſt oppoſe his notions of military powers.

It was their fault then, that the ſettlement was alarmed; and, to ſpeak in the moſt favourable terms, they were guilty of the higheſt indiſcretion in uttering words that, by repetition, could cauſe an alarm to the ſettlement, and in not taking immediate meaſures to remove ſuch an apprehenſion. When the inhabitants ſaw that a military power was thus exerciſed over a man not ſubject to martial law, that Mr. Verelſt, a civil magiſtrate, had neglected to interpoſe with his authority for the relief of Remnaut; and that my appeal to the preſident and council, as a bench of juſtices, could not prevail to have the guards removed, it was high time for the inhabitants to be alarmed: and lord Clive's ſilence for ſo many days, on a point that might have been anſwered in a moment, very naturally increaſed the general terror and murmur at ſuch proceedings.

Lord Clive, at length, perceiving there were men determined to opppoſe oppreſſion and military violence, however paliated and defended, was reduced to the neceſſity of diſavowing the ſentiments, which the common acceptation of his words did ſurely imply. But however, lord Clive may attempt to palliate, or whatever light he may endeavour to throw upon declarations which prudence

ſhould

ſhould have forbid, and which he muſt have known were not only unbecoming, but highly diſguſted and alarming to the ſettlement, yet facts will ſpeak for themſelves. We ſee the effects of a military power, inconſiſtent with our civil juriſdiction, and the avowal of an authority for ſuch proceedings from the nature of our own government, military as well as civil, as aſſerted by lord Clive, brought the caſe home to every man's apprehenſions for himſelf, and dependants, ſhould he happen to fall under lord Clive's diſpleaſure.

Had general Carnac waited a very few minutes when he entered his minute on the 18th, he would have found I had ſaid nothing to Mr. Sumner, but what I had intended to ſet forth to the board; to give him or them as early an occaſion as poſſible to explain or correct my ideas of what had paſſed on the ſubject of military authority. I came prepared with the minute I then entered, which I particularly mention, that it may not ſeem I was drawn to make that minute from any call of general Carnac's.

The gentlemen of council, that were preſent, ſo far avow the truth of what I aſſert, that they recollect ſuch declarations were made by lord Clive and general Carnac. It only remains to be determined, whether I did right in appealing to the board, or whether I laid more ſtreſs on thoſe declarations than they would admit? Though I believe it will be allowed, that a degree of warmth and jealouſy is never more juſtifiable than in a caſe where our civil liberty appears to be infringed, I was the more forcibly ſtruck with this idea, from the ſituation of our government. The two military

tary members at the head, and Mr. Verelſt, over whom lord Clive ſeems to have the moſt abſolute influence, formed the majority of the council; or even did Mr. Verelſt dare to differ in ſentiment with lord Clive, ſtill his lordſhip and general Carnac form a majority in the ſelect committee; and as this committee has all along conſidered their authority ſuperior to the council, the majority of it joining in this opinion and declaration, indicated the government of Bengal to be in a manner military

Mr. Verelſt has endeavoured to palliate, and explain away, as it were, the ſtrength of general Carnac's particular addreſs to me, by the aſſertion of his having previouſly ſaid, he would always ſupport the civil authority, though in ſome caſes a military force was requiſite, to ſeize atrocious criminals; and that, upon ſome debate between the general and me, he recollects the general told me, in ſuch a caſe he would not ſcruple to ſeize me. Lord Clive, in like manner, on the 28th, attempted to palliate both what he himſelf had ſaid touching military government, as well as general Carnac's ſpeech to me, which his lordſhip has expreſſed in moſt extraordinary terms. On his lordſhip's atteſtation, I muſt make one obſervation, that on the 18th, when he was called on by general Carnac, to relate the converſation that had paſſed, he joined in ſentiment with Mr. Verelſt, but declared he could not recollect the particular words previous to general Carnac's declarations; whereas in his atteſtations, delivered in ten days after, he repeats the converſation, that he ſays, paſſed in a very par-

particular manner; and adds expreſſions in the cloſe of it, which no other gentleman recollected.

Each relation of the converſation that paſſed, differs ſo much in the expreſſion, that the declarations on oath, entered on the 28th, ſeems as if they were rather their ſentiments of what might have paſſed, than their recollection of what really did paſs; though all remember that general Carnac made uſe of violent expreſſions to me, and that there were circumſtances under which he would uſe a military force to ſeize me. It was the higheſt inſult to the board, to ſuppoſe one of its members, and a magiſtrate, in a ſituation that could poſſibly warrant his uſe of military guards, I will not admit that any military officer is a fit judge when his ſoldiers are requiſite to ſeize civil ſubjects: or that on any account whatever, general Carnac has the liberty to come, with a party of ſoldiers, to ſeize my perſon, unleſs called upon by a civil officer of juſtice; for if theſe military gentlemen, from the pretext of aſſiſting the civil authority, have the power in their own hands to ſeize even a magiſtrate with military guards, I doubt our civil liberty will be found to ſtand on a very precarious baſis; and from one of the atteſtations given in upon oath, it muſt ſeem, that general Carnac, as an officer, conſidered himſelf the judge when a military force was neceſſary: ſince he declared, as may be ſeen from the atteſtation, that he would not only ſeize my ſervant, but my perſon, if he thought I deſerved it.

It was lord Clive's aſſerting this to be a military as well as a civil government, and the generals inſiſting on the neceſſity of ſuch a government that

alarm

alarmed me, and gave me reaſon to lay more ſtreſs on what the general ſaid, particularly to me; and as I declare no other part of the general diſcourſe occurred to me, when I wrote my minute, I am totally freed from any reproach of intentional miſconſtruction by that atteſtation. Nor will it amaze any one, that words of ſuch a tendency, ſpoke repeatedly with great violence, ſhould have been particularly impreſſed upon me. They in the ſame manner ſeem to have ſtruck every perſon preſent: for each gentleman recollects, That the general expreſſed himſelf in violent terms, touching the ſeizure of my perſon with military guards, although none of them correſpond in the previous converſation. Lord Clive and Mr. Verelſt, indeed, have taken great pains to palliate the indiſcretion of general Carnac.

* It was far from my deſire to wreſt general Carnac's meaning beyond what I conceived to be the drift of his expreſſion. The total excluſion of all civil power was what I nevever referred; but that ſuch declarations tended to give a military power an authority inconſiſtent with our charter of juſtice, and which no Engliſhman could patiently ſubmit to; in ſome caſes, I admitted a military force might be requiſite; but it could then only act under the civil power, or until a civil officer could take cognizance of the offence. Whereas the point, this occaſioned Mr. Gray's minute, which led to the debate, was the propriety of military guards kept over a ſervant of his for ſome weeks, within the juriſdiction of our civil courts, and an abſolute refuſal to admit the man to bail.

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This circumſtance gives a weight to what was ſaid, even more than the very expreſſions might have implied on any other occaſion. Lord Clive and general Carnac deny Mr. Gray's queſtion, touching the governor's power of confining the civil inhabitants by military guards; led to this debate. I only refer to the queſtion itſelf, propoſed in conſultation that day. By Mr. Gray, I admit that the confinement of Mr. Gray's ſervant brought on that queſtion, and have in my minute of the 18th particularly ſaid from inſtances which had really happened: referring to the military ſeizure and confinement of Remnaut and others: however, I apprehend thoſe gentlemen can advance no arguments in defence of the military power uſed over Mr. Gray's ſervant, that will not hold equally good in the caſe of any other civil ſubjects. The laws are infringed; and the whole ſettlement was alike intereſted in the board's determination on the queſtion that day propoſed to them. Aſtoniſhed and diſturbed at the extravagant aſſertions made by lord Clive and general Carnac in council, it is not ſurprizing, that I ſhould expreſs my uneaſineſs to my friends. Determined to make what had paſſed public by an appeal to the board, I was under no obligation to keep the circumſtance an inviolable ſecret; and had a right to mention, to my friends, aſſertions that, in my opinion, had a tendency to injure our civil liberty. It was not a private concern of the company's, nor a reſolution of the board, entered on our conſultations, which required ſecreſy. It was an indiſcretion of thoſe two gentlemen; and had I ever received any inſtances of confidence from lord Clive, or been regarded by him in the

light which my ſtation intitled me to, it is probable I ſhould have expreſſed my uneaſineſs, and deſired an explanation from him privately; but in my ſituation, treated on all occaſions with the greateſt ſlight and haughtineſs, ſuch a confidence on my ſide could never be expected; and as every individual was as alike intereſted in the cauſe, I deem myſelf juſtified, and make no doubt the world will juſtify me, in having mentioned it to the few I did. So far was I induſtriouſly propagating reports to alarm the ſettlement, that I only recollect having mentioned my apprehenſions and ſentiments of what had paſſed to one gentleman, on whoſe judgment and diſcretion I could rely, until I found the declarations, that were made, known in town; when, I believe, I talked on the matter to four or five gentlemen of my acquaintance. It was not probable ſuch declarations could long be kept ſecret: indeed, I was told many had heard the ſame: that lord Clive himſelf, on the very day after the council had broke up, mentioned, at his own table, ſufficient to inform the town of what had paſſed; and that, ſpeaking of general Carnac's warmth at council; he ſaid, he wiſhed a guglet of water had been poured down the general's throat, to cool his heat, and have prevented ſuch imprudent aſſertions.

It would indeed be a mortification to me, to be under the neceſſity of pointing out lord Clive's conduct, as an example to juſtify my own proceedings in any one point; but that I may not hereafter be injured by a parallel, however unjuſt it would be to me, I muſt make the following remark. Lord Clive has endeavoured to caſt an odium on my partial

tial relation of what had paſſed between general Carnac and me, though I offered to declare upon oath, that, at the time I wrote my minute, no circumſtance occurred to my recollection, but what I had mentioned. Whereas his lordſhip, a few days before, took advantage of ſome haſty expreſſions of Mr. Gray's, and though Mr. Gray at the time, almoſt in the very inſtant, properly explained his meaning, lord Clive, ſubſequent to this explanation, ſnatched his firſt words, entered them upon record, and againſt conviction, as it muſt ſeem, aimed to throw reflections on Mr. Gray, who in a becoming manner expoſed his lordſhip's ungenerous attempt. What I advanced was the reſult of the impreſſions I received from the circumſtances of the debate, and the declarations that followed: in farther confirmation of which I muſt mention, that when lord Clive, on the day of this debate, having wrote a note at the board, went out of the council room to diſpatch it, it occurred to me, that he was ordering a military guard to the council-houſe, to attend his orders. Mr. Gray can atteſt, when the council broke up, I expreſſed to him ſuch my ſuggeſtions. And to me, who had been a witneſs, in the time of lord Clive's former government, of his having forced the cutcherry priſon with a military guard, and releaſed a man confined by the civil court; ſuch a ſuggeſtion was far from being forced or unnatural.

Although the tenor of their declarations was injurious to our privileges, yet that our conſtitution could actually be ſubverted by lord Clive and general Carnac, was what I never conceived, and therefore could never intimate, I know it reſted

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not upon their ſupport; nor could I believe them ſo romantic as to oppoſe themſelves to laws which ſuch numbers would moſt ſurely defend. It was really a conſequence I never gave them: though it is not ſurprizing, that any words ſpoken by gentlemen in ſuch high ſtations, and holding military commiſſions, which had a tendency to injure our civil liberty, ſhould ſo quickly ſpread, and cauſe alarm through the ſettlement.

It was not the mention of what had paſſed in council, but the declaration being ſupported by arbitrary acts, which raiſed the moſt natural apprehenſion, that when a ſervant of a magiſtrate, and a member of the goverment, is ſeized by military guards uncondemned and unheard, kept in military confinement, that every merchant and inhabitant ſtands in danger of ſimilar ill-treatment, ſhould he chance to be obnoxious to lord Clive; and no man under his diſpleaſure will reſt long unaccuſed, if he makes it his buſineſs to ſeek information againſt them.

If one may credit reports, lord Clive frequently makes the debates of council the ſubject of his table converſation; when he treats the ſentiments and conduct of thoſe who differ from him with ridicule and contempt. I put a queſtion to his lordſhip to this effect; to which he anſwered in the negative; but when I offered to atteſt that I had heard him relate in a common company the reſolutions of the ſelect committee, which had not to that day been made known to the board, he then admitted it was very poſſible he might have unguardedly diſcovered the proceedings of the committee. I muſt take the liberty to remark on this, that at the

period which I alluded to, he did not let drop unguarded expreſſions about the public buſineſs; but gave a regular relation of what had paſſed in the ſelect committee, for the information of thoſe in the company; and I am alſo aſſured, that lord Clive, on occaſions leſs important than the preſent, thus conſulted with ſuch, though no ſervants of the company, as he thought, could give him uſeful information touching affairs that were before the board.

To be detected in an error was what lord Clive's ſpirit could not brook without reſentment; and he was determined to gratify that by wreaking his vengeance upon me, by a ſentence of ſuſpenſion dictated to general Carnac and Mr. Vereliſt, whom he knew would ſupport the meaſure he ſhould propoſe.

The violent proceedings of the board on the 28th of October, are, I believe, unparalleled. I ſeveral times moved to be heard, and to enter a minute I had prepared on the occaſion, but in this I was unſucceſsful, as the preſident took care to poſtpone my motion till the ſeveral minutes of himſelf and friends were recorded, and their queſtions to the board propoſed and anſwered; and then he ſtill without hearing me, deſired me to withdraw.

It appeared that the preſident in having wrote the reſolution for ſuſpending me before the board, now was at all events determined to remove me from the ſervice. I have been condemned unheard. I have been deprived of my ſtation for daring to inſinuate that the two military members were in argument, and lord Clive by facts, aſſert-

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ing a military power inconſiſtent with our charter of juſtice. When lord Clive propoſed the queſtion, it appears on record, that it would have been carried in the affirmative againſt lord Clive, had not general Carnac ſtepped in to his aſſiſtance; and ſo in like manner when general Carnac propoſed the ſame queſtions in his own behalf, lord Clive gave a vote in his favour; the votes were therefore equal on this queſtion; notwithſtanding which, on my only admitting that I had mentioned out of council, what had paſſed in it, they adjudged me to be the author and propagator of reports, which, by the ſanction of lord Clive and general Carnac's voices, are declared falſe without any regard to the equal diviſion of voices on the queſtion ſome minutes before.

As to the reſolution introduced by lord Clive, it is the moſt unprecedented, the moſt unjuſt, and the moſt injurious motion ever propoſed to a public board of gentlemen; and as I had not a hearing, the acquieſcence it met with from general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt, muſt be a proof to the world, that they came pre-determined to condemn whatever arguments I had to produce: or to ſay no more, lord Clive, by an extraordinary perverſion of juſtice, ſitting as judge over his accuſers, was happy in a majority which he knew would join him in a reſolution, which all unprejudiced men muſt deteſt or ridicule as an unparalleled inſtance of injuſtice, violence, and abſurdity.

That lord Clive has been guilty of a high inſult upon our government, by uſing military guards over me, not ſubject to martial law. That lord Clive, by aſſerting in ſupport of this oppreſſion, that

that this was a military as well as civil government, and that general Carnac, by joining in this opinion and ſupporting the neceſſity of ſuch a government, were cauſing alarms in the ſettlement, were uſing aſſertions that tended to deſtroy the peace, harmony, and ſecurity of the inhabitants; and that in ſo doing they were guilty of unfaithfulneſs to the company's ſervice, and by abuſing the truſt repoſed in them, were unworthy of any rank in it. Had impartial men judged, this perhaps would have been their determination; but when the accuſed, in their own cauſe, were to ſit in judgment on their accuſer, it is no wonder they have paſſed that ſentence upon me, they were probably conſcious of having deſerved themſelves.

Had an unprejudiced, diſintereſted board paſſed cenſure upon me, I ſhould have eſteemed it a general misfortune; but when I conſidered myſelf removed from my ſtation by a majority of three or two, and that two of theſe three were ſitting on judgment on their excuſer; I muſt confeſs that I do not in the leaſt lament the extraordinary reſolution thoſe gentlemen took againſt me. I eſteem this public teſtimony of my diſapprobation of their opinion and conduct, as a declaration greatly to my honour. I am happy in being thus diſtinguiſhed as an oppoſer of arbitrary principles and deſpotic rule. In my preſent ſituation, I am obliged to ſubmit to your authority: but to your ſuperiors I ſhall appeal for juſtice for the unworthy treatment I have met with; nor I am in the leaſt apprehenſive that the malevolent ſpirit of party and perſecution which we have been the unfortunate witneſſes of abroad, will withdraw from me that favour and protection which

which our honourable maſters never fail to afford their injured ſervants; and as your ſentence obliges me, notwithſtanding the prejudice it may be to my commercial affairs, to a ſudden departure in ſearch of that juſtice and redreſs which I cannot find here. I muſt requeſt your permiſſion and orders for a paſſage in the Grenville. The company's intereſts I have always had at heart, and I muſt therefore take the liberty of offering my warmeſt wiſhes for their proſperity.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Ralph Leyceſter."

Calcutta, Dec. 2d, 1765.

Lord Clive in anſwer to Mr. Leyceſter's imputations, animadverted on his unfitneſs to be employed in a poſt of conſequence in ſuch a government as that of the company; his lordſhip attributed to his uncommon timidity, and to the weakneſs of his nerves, his apprehenſions. That gentleman's behaviour at Decca, continued his lordſhip, when he abandoned the factory, would in all probability have loſt him the ſervice, if general Carnac had not prevailed upon Mr. Vanſittart to let him ſoften the paragraph written on that ſubject in the general letter. The enemy who had inſpired Mr. Leyceſter with ſuch terrors, proved to be no other than a rabble of Fekees, at whoſe approach he ran away from the factory.

Mr. Verelſt ſays, lord Clive will always reflect honour on the man who influences him, and be a faithful guardian of the truſt repoſed in him by his employers. His lordſhip concluded by letters, that general Carnac is warm in temper, and ſometimes

times ſo in expreſſion, but that the court of directors know his warmth has always been exerted in the cauſe of virtue and the company, as it ever proceeded from the goodneſs and openneſs of his heart.

Mr. Vereſt on the ſame ſubject of grievances, maintained that the right the bench of juſtices at their quarterly ſeſſions had aſſumed, to make a proclamation of our laws being extended to the black inhabitants, was a daring encroachment upon the royal prerogative, an act unſufferable in itſelf, and in its natural conſequences cruel and oppreſſive. And Mr. Sykes concludes his minute in anſwer to Meſſrs. Leyceſter and Gray's addreſſes to the court of directors, by theſe remarkable words: "I am not ſurprized, that Meſſrs. Leyceſter and Gray, without ſtanding upon the ceremony of truth, ſhould endeavour to throw reflections upon any man, who has the reſolution and integrity to aſſiſt lord Clive in the laborious taſk of eradicating luxury, corruption and rapacity, which have too long flouriſhed without controul in this ſettlement." We do not pretend to anticipate the reader's reflections on the conduct of theſe immaculate gentlemen.

Lord Clive and the ſelect committee in their letter to the court of directors dated Calcutta, January 31, 1766, call Meſſrs. Leyceſter and Gray's ſpirited and lawful oppoſition to their tyrannical meaſures, an indecent, violent and factious behaviour, beyond any thing ever before tolerated in their government, in the moſt licentious times. They accuſed Mr. Leyceſter of having attempted to involve the ſettlement in anarchy and civil diſſenſions, by raiſing a ferment in the minds of the

people, on an expreſſion haſtily dropt by general Carnac at the board, that might have excited the inhabitants to open ſedition. The alarm, ſaid they, that we were about to introduce a military government, became ſo general, we thought it incumbent on us to trace the author of ſuch dangerous calumny; and upon a conviction that Mr. Leyceſter had forged and publiſhed it, with a deſign of weakening the hands of adminiſtration, we judged it neceſſary to ſuſpend him, as unworthy of his ſtation in your ſervice.

General Carnac in his minute, dated February 3, 1766, ſpeaking of his lordſhip's principles and adminiſtrations, ſays, The conviction that the ſyſtem adopted by lord Clive has quite a contrary tendency to Mr. Vanſittart's meaſures, entirely repugnant to the company's honour and intereſts, and that his lordſhip is zealouſly labouring for the public good, is the motive of my ſo heartily coinciding with him. While his lordſhip perſeveres in ſo laudable a purſuit, which from his eſtabliſhed character, the general tenor of his conduct and his independency, we may juſtly infer he will do, it will be my greateſt pride to exert my utmoſt endeavours to keep pace with him: thus the noble preſident and the ſelect committee complimented each other on the new adminiſtration they had modelled.

The following is Mr. Gray's minute in anſwer to lord Clive.

Lord Clive in his minute of the 28th October, aſſumes his uſual ſtate of affected ſuperiority, and con-

contempt for theſe of different ſentiments from himſelf. Although I do not feel myſelf hurt by his contumelious manner; yet as the appearance of ſubmiſſion may encourage him to a continuance of it, I will here without ſcruple, treat his lordſhip with that freedom of ſentiment and expreſſion, of which he has ſet me the example.

He very generouſly condeſcends to indulge me with an anſwer to my queries; but is miſtaken in the intent of them. He took the mean advantage of ſtrengthening himſelf by ſummoning every informer he could inliſt under his banner, without allowing me an opportunity of calling a ſingle witneſs for my defence: or, if he ſtood forth a profeſſed accuſer, how came he to ſit in judgment on my conduct? the truth is, that he was conſcious that his pretended accuſations were ſo trifling in themſelves, and ſo ill ſupported, that when he was called upon to produce them, he found himſelf reduced to the neceſſity of uſing the moſt unjuſtifiable means in ſearch of more capable informers, and new matters of aſperſion.

If his lordſhip never authorized any perſon whomſoever to demand by threats on guards, letters or other papers relative to my fortune or connections, great liberties have been taken with his lordſhip's name. Mahomed Reza Khawn has demanded falſe accuſations from people in the city, as I can prove by letters when I think it neceſſary. My letter has been demanded from Bolakydaſs: my accounts, as I have been informed have been demanded from Remnaut, even while under confinement, and copies of papers have been demanded from Servopchund, which were thought to relate to me. It

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were abſurd to think, that ſuch a number of circumſtances of this ſort could happen at the ſame time, without his lordſhip's knowledge; and it can ſcarcely be believed, that his lordſhip's ſervants or adminiſtration at the city durſt take ſuch ſteps without orders. What ſtreſs may therefore be laid on his lordſhip's honour on the preſent occaſion, every man muſt judge for himſelf.

There is no evidence Buſſunt Roy or Mooteram could give in the points relative to the conduct of Mr. Johnſtone their maſter, which could juſtify the oppreſſive and unlawful meaſure of ſeizing them with a military guard, in order to extort matter of accuſation from them. Such an offence againſt the rights and privileges of Britiſh ſubjects, living under the civil juriſdiction, infinitely exceeds the worſt they could lay to Mr. Johnſton's charge. Racks and tortures have been long exploded from our conſtitution: they are the execrable expedients of tyranny to effect its purpoſes; but I ſee no difference betwixt ſuch actual tortures and the infamous ſyſtem of ſeizing the man from whom information is required by a military guard. That houſe which ought to be his ſhelter is rendered his dungeon. The inſolent guards abuſe him. He is not ſuffered to ſatisfy even the common occaſions of nature, without paying dearly for it. He is terrified with the ſevereſt threats; yet at the ſame time given to underſtand, that if he would make diſcoveries agreeable to lord Clive, he may purchaſe his eaſe.

He is ſolemnly paraded through the town under a guard, carried before the frowning preſident, where under all the horrors of ſuch a ſituation,

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ſevere queſtions are aſked him, ſuch as, together with the hints before given him, point out the deſired anſwers. Human nature cannot bear ſuch a burden without having recourſe to any expedient for relief. Without regard to truth, the trembling priſoner will ſay whatever promiſes to relieve his preſent diſtreſs, and under ſuch circumſtances, (the very ſyſtem of an inquiſition) many have been known to condemn themſelves of facts which even the judges perfectly knew they were innocent of. It is a dangerous example, that may afford precedent for the moſt flagitious oppreſſions, and the evidence ſo procured muſt always be doubtful in fact, and invalid in law. A new pretext of injuring the ſubject may always be alledged by an oppreſſive governor, of his lordſhip's ingenuity. He has aſſumed to himſelf a power beyond what the laws allow to any ſingle man in the Britiſh dominions, over the lives and properties of individuals; but I am at a loſs to judge from whence it is that lord Clive ſeems in this, to place ſo much value upon the late Juggat Seat's merits with the Engliſh; the principal of which that I can recollect, was his application for the jaghire, which lord Clive received from the preſent nabob's father. Gratitude, I preſume, to the memory of the father, engages his lordſhip to ſhew ſuch extraordinary kindneſs to the ſon.

It is not by declaring one's ſelf-approbation to the world, only affecting a contempt of the accuſer, that ſuſpicion will be removed. The one may be deemed an ebullition of ſelf-praiſe, ariſing from a heart ſwoln with pride and conceit; the other an arrogant exultation in ſuperiority of rank, which

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gives a man who poſſeſſes more power than politeneſs, a liberty of venting his malice or ſpleen in indecent terms. Alſo the nature of the fictitious treaty with Omichund; it would be entertaining to the world, if his lordſhip would explain what could be the inducement that led admiral Watſon to authorize another gentleman to ſign his name and affix his ſeal, when he did not chuſe to do it himſelf?

Suppoſing the ſum ſtipulated in the fictitious treaty was not ſtruck off purpoſely to be divided amongſt lord Clive and ſundry other gentlemen; will his lordſhip declare upon his honour, that the money mentioned in a paper known by the name of the lall cangus, (the red paper, a title which the natives give to Omichund's treaty, written on red paper) was not divided, or whether a ſum of money, between thirty and forty lacks, found in the nabob's treaſury at Murſhadabad, was not divided betwixt himſelf and ſeveral other gentlemen, excluſive of what was ſtipulated for the ſelect committee and the army? I ſhall only remark, that lord Clive's ſhare of committee money, and donation to the army, did not exceed 70,000l. ſterling; it would therefore be a ſatisfaction to the world, in vindication of his lordſhip's character, if he would relate the times and circumſtances by which he obtained the remainder of his amazing fortune, acquired in ſo ſhort a period.

When the world conſiders the means by which lord Clive raiſed a princely fortune, it muſt be matter of amazement to ſee him preaching moderation in the ſettlement, and attacking all thoſe benefited by the ſame means of which he ſet an example.

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Where is the ſelf-denial if he wiſhes to add more to an eſtate, ſwelled already beyond the bounds of his moſt ſangine expectation? Money is not the object he would ſeem to luſt for longer; he poſſeſſes already more than he can enjoy; but his preſent purſuits are unlimited powers, and titles to feed the vanity of an inſatiable ambition: to this idol, does he not ſeem to ſacrifice any one who will not implicitly bow the knee? And well verſed in every art of attack, does he ſpare any method to oppreſs thoſe whom he cannot overawe? He has imbibed his notions from his military way of life, and as if ſtill among his inferior officers, where none dare to contradict, he iſſues forth his commands to the board with the ſame imperious authority, and expects implicit obedience. As to his lordſhip's long declaration to prove the expediency of the military power, he would fain be inveſted with; indeed my ſentiments differ widely from his. Lord Clive, by pluming himſelf on his age and experience in the ſervice, would ſeem to throw a ſarcaſtic reflection on our youth, and treats what we have advanced in ſupport of our opinion, as pompous, romantic, and declamatory. The ill language lord Clive has introduced to the board in his arguments with me, ſurpriſes me no longer, as he has dealt freely with the ſettlement collectively, and to give credit to lord Clive's declarations, any man muſt ſuppoſe Calcutta a ſink of licentiouſneſs and corruption. This ſetting up himſelf as a pattern and ſtandard of integrity and morality, but ſuch aſſertions ought to be proved by facts, and I call upon his lordſhip to point out a ſingle act of generoſity or goodneſs of heart he has performed ſince his return

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to this ſettlement, and then I will freely aſcribe to him his due merit.

(Signed) George Gray.

February 8th, 1766.

Mr. Gray, in a letter to the noble preſident and his council, that general Carnac was raiſed by lord Clive's power, whoſe favour ſtill ſupported him. He taxed the general with having received conſiderable preſents from the nabob Meer Jaffier, and other people; conſequently that he had no right to condemn thoſe who had accepted the ſame bounty; and that he had been benefited in a more ample manner by far than moſt of the company's ſervants. Mr. Gray obſerved that general Carnac's fortune had been ſuddenly got, and that neither he nor lord Clive would declare how much they had profited by trade; whatever they are poſſeſſed of, continues he, has come unto them as preſents, plunder, or ſuch inglorious means, as lord Clive has declared, in a military capacity.

Copy of a letter from lord Clive.

To the court of Eaſt-India directors, dated Calcutta, the 20th of March, 1766.

" Gentlemen,

" Par. I. I have the honour to ſend you incloſed abſtracts of all your civil and military expences upon this eſtabliſhment from the firſt of January 1765, to the firſt of January 1766, and likewiſe the particulars of your military expences

ces for one month : the civil diſburſements for one or two months at ſome of the diſtant factories were wanting, but I have computed them upon an average, and the difference cannot be material. Theſe accounts will bear teſtimony to the great inattention, negligence, and extravagancy, which have prevailed on both departments ; and convince you, that I have not exaggerated the abandoned ſtate of this ſettlement. Your orders for ſending to you annually the ſtate of your military expences have I find, been after repeated in vain ; and when accounts amounting to ſuch large ſums, are kept ſo long behind hand, the detection of frauds is impoſſible.

II. It gives me pain, though it may be my duty, ſo often to repeat the obſervation, that your ſervice in general, for want of capacity or attention in ſome, and want of principle in others, has, for theſe two or three years paſt, been nothing but a ſcene of fraud and confuſion. I feel however, a conſcious ſatisfaction within myſelf, that I ſhall ſee your affairs upon ſuch a footing before I leave this country, that it will only depend upon yourſelves, whether the company ſhall or ſhall not (excuſe my vanity upon the occaſion) enjoy the fruit of my labours.

III. Permit me to ſuggeſt, that it is become abſolutely neceſſary you ſhould ſend from England five or ſix gentlemen of unqueſtionable abilities and good conſtitutions, qualified for the ſecretary's and accountant's offices. Without ſuch aſſiſtance, it is evident that your civil branches cannot long continue in order ; nor will your accounts, by which

you only can diſcover frauds, abuſes and neglects, be regularly tranſmitted.

IV. Agreeably to the ſixth paragraph of my letter of the firſt of February, a committee is now formed for examining into the ſtate of every department, and for eſtabliſhing what is much wanted, method as well as integrity and oeconomy in each; and I flatter myſelf you will ſoon be convinced of the utility of the inquiries now on foot; as no other means can ſo effectually obtain for you a true ſtatement of your affairs here, or ſo clearly aſcertain the points which require reformation.

V. In my former letters, I with great truth as well as freedom, obſerved to you, that moſt of your ſervants in Bengal were ſo young, ſo extravagant, and had imbibed notions ſo contrary to their honour and your intereſt, that it was incumbent upon you to ſeek for aſſiſtance elſewhere. Your principal ſervants ſhould always be men of ſenſe, years and experience; for if we reflect but for a moment on the extenſiveneſs of your concerns, revenues amounting to millions ſterling, a trade which may be carried on to the amount of ſeventy lacks of rupees, and dominions to govern, which exceed Great Britain in extent and number of ſubjects; it is impoſſible to conceive how ſuch a government can long exiſt under the management of boys, whoſe principles are corrupted by example, and the glare of wealth, the moment they land. I have recommended to you the ſending out five or ſix gentlemen qualified for the ſecretary's and accomptant's office; if you ſhould think proper to adopt ſuch a plan, you will undoubtedly conſider, whether you will allow theſe gentlemen a certain

rank

rank and to riſe in your ſervice, or fix them to a certain rank and certain poſts, granting them the full privilege of trade, their emoluments will in either caſe reward their ſervices in five or ſix years; and indeed they will heartily deſerve an independency if they carry on the accounts and buſineſs of this ſettlement with method and integrity.

VI. That you may be fully convinced of the utility and neceſſity of regulating every department, I muſt requeſt you will ſuſpend your judgment (among many other reaſons for the neceſſity of the late meaſure) until we are enabled to lay before you an abſtract of the expences of the preſent year, that you may examine into the particulars, and compare them with thoſe now before you, for the year paſt.

VII. You will be pleaſed to remark, that I have made a minute in conſultation, deſiring to have abſtracts of all your expences, civil and military, tranſmitted to me by the 15th of every month, that I may from thence form a general abſtract of the whole, to be entered monthly on the face of the conſultations, in purſuance of my idea in the ſeventh paragraph in my laſt letter; but as theſe entries would be very voluminous, and add greatly to the buſineſs of the ſecretary's office, already too extenſive, I propoſe only to enter the ſum total of every department on the face of the conſultations, and enter the abſtracts in a ſeparate book, which ſhall be laid before the board monthly, and tranſmitted to you when the year's accounts are completed; this book will ſhew you the monthly and yearly account of every head.

VIII. The Engliſh Eaſt India company are here ſo ſituated, that they cannot be leſs than they are

now

how without ceaſing to be at all ; and was equally certain that their preſent greatneſs will add to the power and influence of their ſervants, already too extenſive ; to check and confine the unbounded deſigns of theſe whoſe ambition is conſtantly thwarting the intereſts of their employers, has been my daily labour ; and although I have as yet done but little towards that general reformation, without which I am convinced the company cannot long have a being in Bengal, yet I have done ſufficient, greatly to injure my conſtitution, and to obtain the odium of all your ſervants, excepting the very few whoſe ideas with the public good correſpond with mine. Perquiſites and privileges to the utmoſt extent, and manifeſtly to the great detriment of your ſervice, have been ſo long tolerated, that every attempt towards reducing your immenſe expences, where private intereſt is concerned, is conſidered as the greateſt hardſhip ; and preſcription is every where againſt reaſon and juſtice. In ſhort, ſupported though I am with a council and a committee, ſtrenuous in their reſolution to reform abuſes, I ſhall only be able to leave things upon a plan of amendment, and it muſt finally reſt with yourſelves to give permanency and ſtability to Bengal, by the moſt vigorous efforts of your power. The inſight and knowledge I am endeavouring to acquire in every department, will, I hope, enable me to lay before you materials ſufficient to write upon, and completely to effect the great purpoſes of our wiſh.

IX. As this may probably be the laſt time of my troubling you by letter with my ideas of your affairs, not only the company's intereſt but my own honour

honour calls upon me to repreſent to you, that if you do not unite to a man, in the exertion of your utmoſt abilities, and in the purſuit of the moſt reſolute and determined meaſures, you will no longer be maſters, or have the leaſt authority over your ſervants. Bengal muſt inevitably, in the ſpace of two or three years, ſink under it's own weight of corruption and extravagance.

I have the honour to be
With the greateſt reſpect,
Gentlemen,
Your moſt obedient, and
Moſt humble ſervant.
(Signed) Clive.

Calcutta,
20 March, 1766.

At a ſelect committee held at Calcutta the 22d of October 1766, relative to the trade, coinage and other matters. Preſent, the right honourable lord Clive, preſident, brigadier general Carnac and Harry Verelſt, Eſqrs.

Mr. Robert Hunter ſurgeon of the third brigade, having by his own miſconduct, incurred diſmiſſion from the ſervice:

Ordered, That the ſecretary ſhall write to Mr. Lawrell, ſecretary to the committee of trade, directing, that Mr. Hunter's name be ſtruck out from the liſt of proprietors on the inland trade, and ſuch advances as he hath made on his ſhare of the capital ſtock, for the preſent year immediately returned to him at his attornies.

A liſt of exports and imports being now prepared and delivered in by the cuſtom-maſter agreeable to our orders to that effect of the 16th of September.

Reſolved,

Reſolved, that in future the trade of all Europeans whatever be confined to the articles ſpecified in the liſt of goods imported by ſhipping, or from the aurungs on which the honourable company received duties, and conſidered as returns to, or exports from the preſidency and factories, and that no trade ſhall henceforward be carried on, from one aurung to another, or from one part of the interior country to another, in any of the articles contained in this liſt, or in any other articles whatſoever, on pain of confiſcation of the goods, to be apptopriated at the pleaſure of this committee, and forfeiture of the company's ſervice, or of free merchants indentures or licence of the governor and council; according as the treſpaſs ſhall be committed by perſons in or out of the company's ſervice.

The committee had made themſelves the uncontrouled arbiters of the property which every man had a right to, who laboured under that diſpleaſure however unjuſtly.

The powers which the company derived from the charters originally granted them by the royal prerogative, are here extended by this omnipotent committee, over all the ſubjects of France, Portugal, Denmark and Holland in Bengal.

The ſeizure and confiſcation of men's property, without the legal deciſion of any judges or juries, was an object of no conſideration in the eyes of this all-powerful and enlightened committee, who pretended not to be accountable in India for any oppreſſions there committed.

The mint maſter having repreſented to the noble preſident and the ſelect committee, that ſome error had crept into the tranſlation of the regulations

for

for a new gold coinage, which may miſlead the minters and produce a debaſement of the currency; this groſs miſtake was inexcuſable. There was not a man in the committee or the council capable of judging whether the tranſlation into the Bengal language was rightly made. From this one fact in an article ſo material to a great commercial nation, as the gold coinage, let the raeder judge of all the other laws made at Calcutta for the interior government of the Bengal provinces.

At a ſelect committee, preſent the right hon. lord Clive preſident, brigadier general Carnac, and Henry Vereliſt, Eſq.

Fort William, Oct. 31ſt, 1766.

Having in our proceedings of the 19th of February laſt, reſolved that no Gomaſtahs employed by the company's ſervants, or by other Europeans trading under the licences from the company, ſhould in future interfere directly or indirectly with any thing relative to the government; and alſo, that ſuch Gomaſtahs ſhould, in all diſputes with the country people, apply for redreſs and juſtice to the chief of the neareſt ſubordinate to the miniſters to the reſident at the Durbar, or to the council, or ſelect committee.

And it being now the intention of this committee to fulfil, in the moſt effectual manner, the honourable company's inſtructions reſpecting the inland trade, and to remove all cauſe of diſturbance and oppreſſion committed in the interior country, under ſanction of the Engliſh name, Reſolved, That in future all Gomaſtahs, whether employed on account

count of the company, or of individuals, ſhall ſtrictly refrain from interfering in any matters that may tend to interrupt the collections, or diſturb the buſineſs of government.

That they ſhall ſcrupulouſly avoid taking cognizance of any diſputes or differences they may have with the country people, or aſſuming to themſelves any degree of judicial authority. That in all ſuch points of difference and diſpute, whether with reſpect to trade or otherwiſe, they ſhall appeal firſt to the neareſt officer of the government; and in caſe of delay, or refuſal of redreſs from him, they ſhall then lay their complaint before Mahommed Reza Khawn, or the reſident at the Durbar, or the council, or ſelect committee.

That whoever ſhall be found deviating from the evident meaning and intent of this reſolution, (a copy of which will be ſent to the reſident at the Durbar, and to Mahommed Reza Khawn,) ſhall immediately forfeit their employments and the company's protection, and likewiſe be ſubject to ſuch further puniſhment as the council or committee may think proper to inflict.

That to prevent any interruption to trade, Mahommed Reza Khawn be deſired, to iſſue orders to all officers of the government, to yield every poſſible encouragement to licenſed trade, and to the buſineſs of thoſe Gomaſtahs who ſhall duly confine themſelves to the above reſtrictions.

Alſo that Mahommed Reza Khawn be deſired to direct the officers of the government, to call upon all Gomaſtahs to regiſter their pervanahs or licences of trade, and duſtucks in the diſtrict where they reſide; and likewiſe to order the public officers of each aurung or diſtrict, to ſend him a regu-

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lar monthly return of all pervanahs ſo regiſtered; Notice having already been given, purſuant to our reſolution of the 19th of February laſt, that all Gomaſtahs ſhould apply to the preſident for pervanahs, and the allowance of time for that purpoſe being now deemed fully ſufficient, Agreed, "That Mahommed Reza Khawn be deſired to iſſue orders to the officers of the government, to call upon the Gomaſtahs in different parts of the provinces immediately, to regiſter the pervanahs, and to ſend all perſons who cannot produce a proper authority for their trade and reſidence, without delay to Calcutta.

And further, to prevent all frauds ariſing from counterfeit and forged duſtucks.

Agreed, the cuſtom-maſter be directed to make a monthly return to the reſident at the durbar of all duſtucks and pervanahs entered in his office, the ſame to be communicated to the miniſters; whereby they may be able to detect all impoſition and fraud, by comparing the monthly returns from the cuſtom-houſe with thoſe made from the aurungs, &c.

Mahomed Reza Khawn delivers into the committee, a liſt of the chockeys, for collecting the duties on trade, and alſo of the military guards which he thinks neceſſary at each. The ſame being approved,

Ordered, It to be entered after the proceedings, and agreed, that Mahomed Raza Khawn be deſired to place the guards with all convenient expedition, and to get the neceſſary draughts made for that purpoſe from the pergunnah batallions.

(Signed Clive.
John Carnac,
H. Verelſt.
Harry

Harry Verelſt, Eſq; preſident during lord Clive's indiſpoſition, laid before the board, at a conſultation held the 11th of December, 1766, a letter from the nabob Seyf al Dowlah, at this time an infant. To lord Clive, purporting, that the year before his late brother paid the ſum of ſix lacks of rupees into the company's caſh upon bonds: that three lacks have been ſince paid to him at Murſhadabad, and the balance of three lacks which remain, he deſired may be added to the fund eſtabliſhed by lord Clive, for the maintenance and ſupport of the invalid military, in the company's ſervice, and the families of ſuch as may loſe their lives in it.

Ordered, That an intereſt note be granted for the ſaid money, in the name of lord Clive, in order that his lordſhip may appropriate the ſame to the purpoſe deſired, and the preſident is requeſted to return our thanks to the nabob, for ſo handſomely contributing to this charitable inſtitution.

Read a letter from Mr. George Vanſittart, dated the 10th inſtant, accompanied with one addreſſed to this board, which was ſent under cover to him, by Mr. Henry Vanſittart, being an anſwer to a letter given in by general Carnac, ſoon after Mr. Vanſittart's departure from this ſettlement in December 1764.

Ordered, That Mr. Vanſittart's letter be entered after the proceedings of this day; and that a copy thereof, atteſted by the ſecretary, be delivered to general Carnac: but the board do not think themſelves authorized to grant a copy of the papers requeſted by Mr. Vanſittart, without the expreſs directions of our honourable maſters.

From

From the nabob Seyf al Dowlah to the right honourable lord Clive.

Received October 21, 1766.

Some time ago my deceaſed brother, the nabob, Najim al Dowlah, paid to your excellency the ſum of five lacks of rupees, agreeable to the commands of our late father, Meer Mahommed Jaffier Khawn; and we hear you have ſettled that ſum for the ſoldiers, &c. Laſt year my late brother paid ſix lacks of rupees into the company's caſh upon bond, of this money, three lacks have been paid to me at Murſhadabad, and the balance of three lacks which remains, I give as a fund to be diſpoſed of in the ſame manner as the former five lacks, and requeſt your excellency to ſettle it after the ſame manner.

A true tranſlation by Robert Maddiſon.

To the right honourable the preſident, and the reſt of the council of Fort William in Bengal.

Honourable Sir and Sirs,

"I troubled you with a letter from Madraſs, dated the 30th January 1765, upon the occaſion of one which I heard had been delivered to your board, by major Carnac, ſoon after my departure; but being then a ſtranger then to the contents, I could only obſerve, it was not for major Carnac's credit to endeavour to take ſuch unfair advantage of my abſence. I have ſince received a copy of that letter; and, diſtant as I am from you, I am too deſirous

rous of preſerving your good opinion, to ſuffer it to go unanſwered."

Copy of major Carnac's letter to the preſident and council of Bengal, dated the 24th Dec. 1764.

"I have received your favours of the 20th inſtant, though I have hitherto declined the company's employ, to which I have been ſo honourably reſtored; give me leave to aſſure you, it was not from a want of a due ſenſe of that honour, which was the more flattering as coming from the ſame court who, through the miſrepreſentation from hence, but had been induced to diſmiſs me. But I could not conſiſtently with my principles, act while the chief management of affairs remained with the perſon to whoſe mal-adminiſtration ſo many of our countrymen had fallen the unfortunate victims, and by which the ſettlement has been brought to the brink of ruin; nor could I be of uſe to my employers, while a gentleman preſided who was actuated by the moſt violent pique againſt me, in reſentment for the ſtrenuous oppoſition I had (though ineffectually) made to his pernicious meaſures. That obſtacle being now removed, I with much pleaſure reſume my ſtation; happy in the conviction, that I ſhall henceforward receive that juſtice which I have heretofore in vain expected, in return for the moſt fervent zeal, and exertion of my utmoſt endeavours for the ſervice of our maſters. I will, agreeably to your deſire, gentlemen, get myſelf ready as faſt as poſſible, to proceed to take the command of the army in the ſubah of Illahabad, and hope to be able to ſet out by the 10th of next month

month at fartheſt. In the mean time, let me requeſt your recommending to major Munro, to ſeeing the produce of the captures diſtributed to the men, it being incumbent upon him ſo to do; and without which I ſhall be very unwilling to receive from him the charge of the forces, as I do not chooſe to be again a witneſs of the ill effects reſulting from demands of this nature being left unſatisfied.

I think it my duty, gentlemen, to lay before you the accompanying fourteen original Perſian papers: two of them being warrants under Meer Coſſim's ſeal, directing the murder of the Engliſh priſoners, and where delivered to Mr. Batſon, by the very perſons to whom they were delivered, as you will ſee by his note to me, herewith ſent. The other pervanahs ſerve to demonſtrate beyond poſſibility of a doubt, Meer Coſſim's intention of commencing war againſt us, though the contrary has been induſtriouſly propagated by the infatuated partizans of that moſt execrable of tyrants.

I am, with greateſt reſpect,

(Signed) J. Carnac."

The anſwer.

As major Carnac's letter conſiſts only of calumnies conceived in general terms, without ſo much as attempting to offer a reaſon, or an inſtance in ſupport of the moſt malicious aſperſions; of courſe, to expoſe his fallacy, injuſtice, and vanity, muſt likewiſe be general. I might very well ſay, that the misfortunes which happened to us in Bengal in 1763, were owing to the violent councils of that very man, who is pleaſed to impute them to mal-adminiſtra-

ſtration on my part; that his calling the members of the council from the ſubordinate ſettlements to a general aſſembly, and his intrigues to gain them to his party, were the immediate cauſe of the war, and that all his meaſures and his wiſhes tended to that end. But I leave the world to judge of this, and only mean here to ſhew, that after all thoſe misfortunes had happened, at a time when they were freſh in every man's mind, and every one was mourning a loſt relation or friend; at this time, I ſay, he declared a very good opinion of my adminiſtration, himſelf promoted and joined with all the reſt of the council then in Calcutta, in a requeſt that I would continue in the government; and not only ſigned, but in great part dictated the letter, dated the 19th of December, 1763, in which, after ſpeaking of the unſettled ſtate of the country, and the great care neceſſary for re-eſtabliſhing good order, they do me the honour to ſay, "From a conviction therefore, ſir, of the national ſervice you can be of in forwarding ſo ſalutary a work, and wherein the well-being of the company is ſo immediately concerned, we cannot but unanimouſly join in requeſting that you will poſtpone your intention of returning to Europe this ſeaſon."

Soon after the date of this letter major Carnac went to take the command of the army, although he declares now that he could not conſiſtently with his principles, act while I had the chief management of affairs; and during that command, he acted ſo conſiſtently with his principles, that our army lay entrenched, ſurrounded, and inſulted under the walls of Patna, until they loſt both their ſpirit and their diſcipline; while Sujah al Dowlah

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at full liberty poſſeſſed or ravaged all the Bahar province, and took up their winter quarters in the midſt of it. I could not approve of this conduct, and here lurks the reaſon why major Carnac no longer acknowledges any merit in me, and loads me with reproaches inſtead of praiſe; from the mouth of ſo partial and intereſted a judge both are equal. I certainly had no reaſon to be pleaſed with general Carnac's behaviour towards me; yet I ſuffered not my reſentment to have the leaſt effect upon my conduct in the government. When major Adams made favourable mention of general Carnac's behaviour in one of the battles fought under his command, I did him more than juſtice in my report to the court of directors, as the general letter of the 8th of October, 1763, will ſhew; and I believe that this I may add, that very recommendation was the means of getting him reſtored to the company's ſervice; ſo that it is without reaſon he complains of the want of a proper return for his moſt fervent zeal. Afterwards indeed, during his command in 1764, at the time when our army was blocked up and inſulted by a rabble, and we had loſt a large part of the Bahar province, I could not ſubſcribe to the title he gave himſelf, of "Our deliverer," nor admit that extraordinary degree of military merit he pretended to, &c.

I am, honourable ſir and ſirs,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
(Signed) Henry Vanſittart."

If we compare lord Clive's adminiſtration with that of Mr. Varſitart, we may eaſily perceive that the boaſted equitable plan formed by his lordſhip

ſhip and the ſelect committee, afforded more reaſons of complaint to the nabob and the natives, than any ſtep of his predeceſſor.

In vain the court of directors repoſed full confidence in his lordſhip to get this work accompliſhed. The court had granted the noble governor a ſalary of ſix thouſand pounds per annum, with other emoluments; but declared theſe to be in full for all ſervices both civil and military, and his lordſhip was not to have any allowance whatever by way of commiſſion or otherwiſe, out of the revenues from any of our territorial acquiſitions whatever.

Notwithſtanding the company's orders on the above ſubject, the ſelect committee reſolved, among other things, That they eſteemed it moſt correſpondent to the ſaid orders, that the whole trade ſhall be carried on by an excluſive ſociety, who ſhould buy or ſell the whole produce of the country, and all its imports of ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, chiefly for the emolument of the noble lord and his committee.

They enacted that all perſons under the company's protection ſhould be prohibited dealing in the above-mentioned articles excepting this ſociety; and that application ſhould be made to the nabob to iſſue the ſame prohibition to all his officers and ſubjects.

That upon their agents having tranſported the above articles to certain places, the country merchants might then purchaſe the ſociety's ſalt, and re-ſell it in the country.

That the company and nabob ſhall be conſidered either by duties, nuzzeranah, or as proprietors.

Mr. Sykes having claimed from the nabob one hun-

hundred and ſix pervanah's, authorizing the ſociety of trade to proceed in this buſineſs, the ſaid pervanah's were ordered to be delivered to the committee of trade for their guidance.

Though the court of directors had poſitively forbidden any ſteps being taken towards renewing the trade eſtabliſhed in this excluſive ſociety, and repoſed the utmoſt confidence in lord Clive, to carry theſe orders into execution, it does not appear that any attention was paid to the above ſubject.

Lord Clive, in a letter to the court of directors, complained of the rapacity of almoſt all the company's ſervants, and returned thanks for the confidence repoſed in him to ſettle the inland trade in ſalt; his lordſhip claimed the honour of having firſt propoſed the plan for carrying on the ſalt trade whilſt he was at ſea, and tranſmitted an eſtimate of the advantages of ſuch trade to ſundry individuals.

Whilſt lord Clive was on a viſit to the army, a copy of a letter from the court of directors was tranſmitted to his lordſhip and general Carnac; this letter totally condemned the conduct of thoſe ſervants who could ſuppoſe they were entitled to reſtitution for loſſes ſuſtained in an illicit trade in ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco. Another letter from the court of directors expreſsly declared every perſon concerned in the inland trade, guilty of a breach of covenants; but it does not appear that the council took any other notice of the ſubject of the inland trade in conſequence of this letter, than by ordering a copy of the material parts to be ſent to lord Clive.

The court's letter, dated 19th of February 1766, per lord Camden, very fully explained their former letters, and totally condemned the fifth article of the treaty with Najim al Dowlah, reſpecting the inland trade in ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, commanded a formal renunciation thereof, and repeated that every one concerned in ſuch trade ſtood guilty of a breach of covenants; and alſo further declared, that whatever government may be eſtabliſhed, or whatever unforeſeen circumſtances may have happened, it was the court's reſolution to prohibit, and they did abſolutely prohibit this trade of ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, and all articles which were not for export or import.

Lord Clive delivered in a minute, ſignifying, that all the court's letters indicated a deſign to wait for the committee repreſentations. His lordſhip obſerved, that the company could not have then been apprized of the favourable turn of their affairs, but that a few weeks more muſt bring their final reſolution; and that if they ſhould repeat their orders, it would be the duty of the committee to obey them; but that as they might change their ſentiments, his lordſhip thought no time ſhould be loſt in eſtabliſhing the mode of conducting the ſaid trade in future; and therefore, he propoſed ſundry regulations for a new plan of trade, which received the ſanction of the committee.

By another plan of lord Clive approved in council, it was agreed, that a duty ſhould be paid to the company of 50 per cent. on all ſalt produced in their own lands, and 50 per cent. to the government, upon all the ſalt made in their diſtrict, and the duties upon beetle-nut was increaſed from 10

to

to 15 per cent. on the prime coſt, which revenue was all finally to be brought into the company's treaſury.

That all the ſociety's ſalt ſhould be ſold at Calcutta, or ſuch other places where it is made, and no where elſe; the natives were then to be the only re-purchaſers: and to them ſalt was not to exceed two rupees per maund

No European was permitted to have any further dealings in ſalt.

The ſociety of trade was to be anſwerable to the board for their conduct, and both to be controlled by the ſelect committee. The trade was divided into ſixty ſhares: thirty-two of which were to be enjoyed by the members of council, but none by the governor: and after a diſtribution of the ſhares there remained 4 ½ ſhares unappropriated, one of which was afterwards given to Mr. Vereliſt, and the remainder divided among ſome of the military.

Lord Clive propoſed to relinquiſh trade, excepting in diamonds, and ſale of ſtock on hand; in conſideration of receiving 1 ⅛th per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, excepting on the company's lands at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong, but ſtipulated alſo for his ſalary, ſtated allowances, and commiſſion upon the mint, coral and freight goods beſides. His lordſhip obſerved on this occaſion, that the unhappy diſſentions which had frequently brought the company's poſſeſſions in Bengal to the point of deſtruction, had generally proceeded from the conduct of governors, and their eager purſuit of private intereſt; which had reduced them to the neceſſity of

conni-

conniving at abuſes that otherwiſe would have been remedied.

The council fully approved of his lordſhip's propoſal, and covenant with him in the name of the united company of merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, to grant his lordſhip a commiſſion of 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the aforeſaid revenues, and his other allowances as before ſpecified. An indenture binding the contracting parties, was executed by lord Clive and the council, and recorded in the mayor's court. His lordſhip alſo took an oath at the ſame time to abide by the ſtipulation contained in the ſaid bond. The council agreed, that lord Clive's commiſſion of 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the revenue, ſhould take place from the firſt of September 1766.

The court's letter to lord Clive and committee, dated the 17th of May 1766, re-capitulated the company's former orders, who ſtill declared that they could not admit of carrying on of the ſaid trade, in any ſhape whatever; and pronounced againſt all concerned therein guilty of a breach of covenants; and ſignified, that the firſt lawyers in the kingdom confirmed their ſentiments; that no regulations whatever could be formed, that could prevent conſequences, ſimilar to thoſe which had already happened. That were they to allow of ſuch trade, under any reſtrictions, it would be ſubſcribing to all the miſchiefs which had befallen Bengal for four years paſt. The court obſerved in the ſame letter, thet his lordſhip had at once diſcerned the company's true intereſt in every branch; that unbiaſſed integrity had guided all his actions:

for

for which and the advantages thereby obtained, he had their ſincereſt thanks. The inland trade was however totally condemned; and his lordſhip was informed, that the court could not be brought to approve it, even under the limitations and regulations ſettled by the ſelect committee. That as the ſaid trade had been aboliſhed, the court hoped his lordſhip would find means to prevent its being monopolized in any hands whatever, leſt the poor might ſtill ſuffer theſe very inconveniencies, for the prevention of which, the court had not only forbid their ſervants to trade therein, but relinquiſhed thoſe advantages that the company themſelves might make by ſuch monopoly: at the ſame time, the court obſerved to the ſelect committee, that they do not mean to aboliſh the ancient duties on the above articles, which conſtitute part of the revenues of Bengal; but the adjuſtment of theſe duties was left to the judgment and conſideration of the ſelect committee.

The board having poſtponed the conſideration of the above letter, and appointed a general conſultation for that purpoſe, they met, but never once mentioned the articles of the inland trade.

Reſolved by the ſelect committee, 21ſt December 1766, "That the unappropriated whole ſhare in the capital ſtock of the ſociety of trade, be annexed to the two ſhares already aſſigned to Mr. Verelſt, in conſideration of the reſtrictive oath to be taken when he enters, upon the government; and that the commiſſion of $1\frac{1}{8}$ per cent. upon the dewannee revenues be aſſigned to lord Clive till the firſt day of September next, in lieu of the five

ſhares

ſhares which his lordſhip has relinquiſhed in the capital ſtock of the ſociety of trade.

(Signed) Clive.
John Carnac.
H. Verelſt.

The copy of the following letter from lord Clive, then at Murſhadabad to the nabob Najim al Dowlah, will ſhew that theſe enſlaved princes were become the deſpicable tools of the uſurpers of their power and dignity; at the ſame time that they profeſſed a ſort of veneration for their perſon. When your excellency was in Calcutta, myſelf and the gentlemen of the committee, after mature conſideration, judged it to be for your intereſt and the welfare of the country that Mahommed Reza Khawn, Maharaja Dooluram, and Juggut Seat, ſhould be appointed under you, to carry on the affairs of the government. The reaſons of theſe appointments I explained to you fully in Calcutta, and they met your approbation. I had frequently heard, that Cayan Beg had at different times, been making uſe of menacing expreſſions with regard to theſe gentlemen; and what I ſaw upon my arrival here, confirmed to me the truth of this information: For Mahommed Reza Khawn and Jugget Seat, through the apprehenſion of their lives being in danger, were ſo much frightened, that they were unable to apply themſelves quietly to the management of the buſineſs committed to their charge. I have therefore been under the neceſſity of removing him; and purpoſe ſending him immediately to calculate. I hope your excellency will ſet your mind at eaſe. Be aſſured that I look upon your perſon as ſacred,

and

and act with a view to your intereſt. The removing of ſuch dangerous men from your preſence is abſolutely neceſſary, both for your welfare and the company's and is what we have a right to do by the terms of the treaty ſubſiſting between us.

The king Shaw Allum wrote to Lord Clive, and the council as Calcutta in the following terms.

Our faithful ſervant general Carnac has, for theſe four years paſt, ſhowed forth the duty of obedience and attachment to the royal ſircar, in ſuch manner that we are inexpreſſibly pleaſed and delighted with him; particularly at this time, he ſo exerted himſelf in puniſhing and driving out the Marattas and ſettling the country, that we are now enabled to live without apprehenſion, in eaſe and pleaſure. That a perſon who has ſhown ſuch fidelity to us, ſhould go unrewarded, is injuring to our dignity; and therefore notwithſtanding the then ſcarcity of money in the royal ſircar, we were formerly ſeveral times deſirous of making the general ſome preſent, but he would by no means conſent to it. Now by the bleſſing of God, and our auſpices and the general's labours, our affairs being in a flouriſhing and proſperous ſtate, we are pleaſed to make the general a preſent of two lack of rupees; and it is our royal command, that with a view to our ſatisfaction, you our faithful ſervants, ſhould grant him permiſſion to receive the ſaid money.

At a ſelect committee the right honourable the preſident laid before them a letter from Sujah al Dowlah, wherein he expreſſed his apprehenſions, that a ſecret treaty was negociating between the king and Marattas, who amuſed him with promiſes of eſcorting him to Dehly, on condition of his majeſty's

majeſty's ceding to them the countries of Korah and Illahabad.

Agreed, we ſend colonel Smith an extract of the vizier's letter, and deſire he will expoſtulate with the king on the weakneſs of his conduct, and if neceſſary, aſſiſt Sujah al Dowlah with all his force to oppoſe any irruption of the enemy into his country; and that a paragraph to this effect be added to the letter to colonel Smith, minuted in the laſt proceedings. Sujah al Dowlah complaining in the ſame letter, that the buſineſs of his government meets with great interruption from the gentlemen of the Engliſh factory at Banaras.

It is our poſitive order that whoever is directed to take charge of the factory, will not interfere directly or indirectly, with the affairs of government; but confine himſelf ſtrictly to the collection of the Tunkhaw money, for which purpoſe ſolely Mr. Marriott's reſidence is continued at Banaras. The European agents ſhall enter into ſuch engagements and reſtrictions as we may judge neceſſary for regulating their conduct, and ſecuring the country from diſturbance, and the natives from injury and moleſtation, &c.

(Signed) Clive.

The nabob Sujah al Dowlah wrote to lord Clive the following letter.

I have written to you ſeveral times, which letters you muſt have received. As I am ever anxious to learn the news of your welfare, the friendſhip between us requires. That you ſhould always rejoice me by writing. At preſent Mr. Marriott is occa-

occaſioning a diſturbance in the mint at Banaras, you ſhould enjoin him not in any wiſe to make oppoſition and contention, but to uſe his endeavours in well conducting every buſineſs.

P. S. With regard to the treaty between us, I truſt to God, that while I live I ſhall not ſwerve therefrom. At Banaras I acquainted you fully with the ſtate of my affairs; and that you ſhould ſo manage for me, that I might have no concern with any one ſave yourſelf; and thanks to God you have done it. Concerning the king's affairs, yourſelf was an eye witneſs of them before your departure, therefore it is needleſs for me to repeat them to you. At preſent however, a treaty is on foot between his majeſty, and Malharrow the Maratta, carried on through the channel of Seyf al Deen Khawn, a native of Caſhmeer; and by a letter received from a Maratta, which may be relied on, I have learnt, that Mulharow has through the men of Caſhmeer above-mentioned, aſked of the king Illahabad Korah, &c. that his majeſty conſents to his requeſts, and that the Caſhmeer man's vakeel having undertaken the management of this buſineſs, has come over and waited on the king. I therefore wrote to inform you, that if, (which God forbid) theſe meaſures ſhould take place, it will be the occaſion of terrible diſturbance in my Subah. I know not whether you are informed of theſe particulars or not.

Mr. Marriott is ſtill making a diſturbance in the mint at Banaras, and allows me no manner of authority in it. It is likely he may have imagined, that I would write to him to be put in poſſeſſion; but excepting you, ſir, I have no concern with any

one. If he ſhould with-hold the whole ſubah from me, I will not write a word. You will be ſo good as to write to Mr. Marriott what ſeems proper to you on this ſubject, and know why he acts contrary to the treaty. Hereafter I ſhall not write you on this head. I am aſhamed to write repeatedly on an affair of ſuch little conſequence: it become you to give ſuch ſtrict orders now, that in future no one may do what is againſt your inclination.

In anſwer to theſe imputations, Mr. Marriott wrote the following letter to lord Clive and the ſelect committee,

My lord and gentlemen,

Yeſterday I had the honour to receive your favour, of the 29th October, and am ſorry to find Sujah al Dowlah has made complaints to the right honourable the preſident, of great interruptions being given to his affairs by the gentlemen of the factory, which I cannot help thinking are without foundation.

As you have not been pleaſed to mention any particulars, I cannot reply to them, but at preſent am quite ignorant of any ſuch interruption; and ſhall always be careful that Sujah al Dowlah ſhall never have any reaſon for making ſuch complaint.

I am, &c.

(Signed) Randolph Marriott.

Copy of a letter from the preſident and ſelect committee to Randolph Marriott, Eſq; and William Bolts.

Gentlemen,

The preſident has acquainted us, that Mr. Marriott, has repreſented to him, your preſence would be

be for a further time neceſſary at Banaras, in order to ſettle ſome buſineſſes of the factory with Bulwantſing; in anſwer to which, we have to obſerve, that Mr. Sage having been appointed reſident there in your room, whatever buſineſs may occur ſhould paſs only through his hands; and we therefore repeat our orders, for your delivering over to him the charge of the factory accordingly, and repairing without further delay, to the preſidency.

We are, &c.

(Signed) Clive,
Will. B. Sumner,
John Carnac,
H. Vereliſt.

In conſequence of the final deciſion of the preſident and council at Calcutta, on the diſpute between Mr. Marriott as chief, and Mr. William Bolts, as ſecond of the factory at Banaras, the board have re-conſidered the whole proceedings, unanimouſly agreed,

That Mr. Marriott was highly culpable in renting the mint, knowing it was againſt the orders of the board for any ſervant of the company to enjoy any poſt or employment under the country government, and therefore ought to bring to the company's credit, all the profits that have accrued to him from the mint; but they humbly hope, in conſideration of Mr. Marriott's general good character, that the company will be ſatisfied with the money he paid to the king, together with the reſtitution, and take no farther notice of the affair.

With regard to Mr. Bolts, they judge him highly deſerving of cenſure for the diſreſpect he was guilty of

of towards his chief: nor do they allow him any merit in the diſcovery of the mint farm, as there is reaſon to believe he was too much influenced thereto, from his being refuſed a ſhare therein by Mr. Marriott.

Mr. Marriott in the courſe of the proceedings againſt him, produced the following extract from lord Clive's anſwer to a letter of his to his lordſhip. This letter bears date the 16th July 1766, near Baghelpore.

" The advice you aſk of me concerning the covenants is of ſo delicate and particular a nature, that I cannot with any propriety, take upon me to give you my opinion, ſince any thing I can ſay, will not have the leaſt weight in a court of chancery. Indeed all the advice I can give you is, to give the covenants a ſerious conſideration, and follow the dictates of your own conſcience; for there is nothing elſe, that I know, which can give the covenants any weight."

The nabob had made a complaint to the board in the following terms: " Whereas the Engliſh gomaſtahs hold farms in the name of the factories, and give protection to the dependents of the ſiccar; by this means my government is weakened, and the affairs of the country are interrupted and prejudiced. It is proper you ſhould give ſuch effectual orders on this ſubject, that the renting of villages may be put an entire ſtop to, and no one may protect the dependents on the ſiccar?" The board in conſequence, ordered, in conſultation that none of the company's ſervants or dependnets, or perſons reſiding under their protection, ſhould be permitted to hold any lands, ganges, rents or employments

ments of any kind from the country government? The order was evidently occaſioned by the nabob's complaints, and intended to put an end to the diſputes between his government and ours.

The government ſays, Mr. Marriott, in by juſtification, may include the king's as well as the nabob's, but the board's intentions regarded ſolely to the latter and my renting the mint, therefore from the king, although it may be conſidered contrary to the letter of the order, does not at all appear to be inconſiſtent with the board's intention, eſpecially as no kind of diſturbance or embroilment could be apprehended from it. I hope therefore, that your lordſhip, &c. will be kind enough to take this matter into farther conſideration, and mitigate the ſeverity of the cenſure you have paſſed upon me.

During lord Clive's indiſpoſition, Mr. Marriott, laid the following letter before the board.

To the right honourable lord Clive preſident and governor, &c. council of Fort William.

My lord and gentlemen.

On receiving an abſtract of your conſultations of the 17th of February 1766, declaring me "highly capable in renting the mint, as it was contrary to the orders of the board for any ſervant of the company's to enjoy any poſt or employment under the country government, and therefore ordering me to refund to the company all the profits that accrued to me therefrom. I immediately addreſſed your lordſhip, &c. deſiring this ſevere cenſure might be taken into conſideration again and reverſed; as there was much difference betwixt the king's government

vernment and the Nabob's, in conſideration of which letters, the above orders have been iſſued; and as no bad conſequences had attended my renting the mint, or had I with reſpect to it interfered the leaſt with the company's government, I therefore hoped this indulgence might have been ſhown me. After this I was deſired to withdraw my letter, which I did, underſtanding it was not the ſentiments of the board, that the company could have any claim on me for the profits that had accrued on farming the mint; but that as I had given it up to the king, jointly with major Monro, without having the direct orders of the board for it; having neglected to inform them of this tranſaction, which was the day after my arrival in camp, imagining major Monro had done it, in his letters of that day; I ſhould therefore pay the company the ſum I had paid the king, for the farm of it, and had the permiſſion of this board, to apply to his majeſty for the ſaid ſum back again. But to my great ſurprize, when I came to peruſe the general letter, I found the aforeſaid cenſure had not been taken off and that you continued in your former ſentiments and were only pleaſed to hope, that in conſideration of my general good character, our honourable maſters would be ſatisfied with the money I paid the king, and the advantages that aroſe in re ſtamping their ſpecies, an advantage I never diſputed was their due. I therefore was obliged to deſire my aforementioned letter might be entered on the conſultations.

In conſequence of your permiſſion. I addreſſed his majeſty, as he has not been pleaſed, as yet to order the money to be returned, I have wrote to him

him again and am in daily expectation of his anſwer.

You have been pleaſed to ſay that it appears by the ſunnud, that the mint and cutlwally were given up to the company by the king; and indeed in this light major Monro and myſelf underſtood it, when we demanded poſſeſſion from the king; and which we afterwards ceaſed to demand, on his repreſentations, which I have before ſet forth, &c.

I am with reſpect,
My lord and gentlemen,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
(Signed) Randolph Marriott.

The court of Eaſt India directors, in the general letter to the governor and council of Bengal, declared that, although Mr. Marriott accepting, or even ſoliciting an office under the country government is a violation of orders and the rules of our ſervice; yet in conſideration of the general good character you repreſent him to bear, we are ſatisfied for the preſent at leaſt, with your obliging him to refund all the advantages he made from his renting the mint at Banaras. He ought to look upon this act of lenity in ſuch a light, as to induce him to be more circumſpect in future, and ſhew his gratitude by exerting his utmoſt endeavours for the good of the ſervice. Until we have had a ſufficient experience of Mr. Marriott's future conduct, he is not to be taken into the ſelect committee, on any vacancy without our expeſs leave.

Lord Clive having long enjoyed a bad ſtate of health, and being at times incapable to hold the reins

reins of government, wrote the following letter to the court of Eaſt-India directors, dated Calcutta December 12, 1766.

Gentlemen,

" I have had the honour to receive your letters of the 2d and 17th of May, earneſtly requeſting my continuance in the government another year. My family concerns and parliamentary intereſts, important as they are, ſhould not make me heſitate to comply with a requeſt which does me ſo much honour, if the ſituation of your affairs demanded my longer ſervice, or if the reaſons which ſuggeſted to you the deſire of my remaining here was actually now exiſting. The weak condition however, to which a ſevere bilious diſorder has reduced me, requiring my immediate return to Europe. It is now a month ſince I have been in ſo deplorable a ſtate of health as to be wholly unable to attend to buſineſs; and it is paſt doubt, that I cannot ſurvive the maligntity of this climate another year.

Thus uſeleſs as I am become to the company, and without the leaſt proſpect of recovery in Bengal, I cannot doubt you will concur with me in the opinion of the abſolute neceſſity of returning to my native country.

The faithful view which I will now lay before you of the ſituation of your affairs, will moreover convince you, that the conſequences of which you are apprehenſive after my departure, cannot in all probability happen; and that every material object of my expedition fully accompliſhed.

Agreeably to my advices of the 1ſt of February and 20th of March, a committee of inſpection has been appointed, for examining into the ſtate

of

of every department, and for eſtabliſhing the neceſſary rules and orders for a general reformation. This committee has fully anſwered my intention. Your ſervants civil and military are no longer at a loſs for an exact definition of their reſpective duties. The new regulations are now in force, and in a few weeks will be firmly eſtabliſhed.

The licentious ſpirit of oppoſition and extravagancy ſo juſtly complained of in your civil ſervants, is now entirely ſubdued; the gentlemen are reduced to act, and likewiſe to think reaſonably. Perfect harmony now reigns throughout the ſettlement; and all childiſh reſentments are at an end: nothing remains he apprehended, but what may reſult from the extreme youth of the majority of your ſervants; and this might have been effectually obviated before my departure, had ſufficient power been veſted in the ſelect committee, or in me, to appoint ſome of the moſt able and diſintereſted of the free merchants upon this eſtabliſhment, and to require the aſſiſtance of four or five other gentlemen from Madraſs.

We have not only overcome the moſt formidable and dangerous mutiny, that ever happened in this or any country, but by example made of the ringleaders, and more eſpecially, by obliging every officer in your army to execute a contract for three years ſervice, has given a ſtability and ſecurity to your military eſtabliſhment, which it never had before. It is upon the beſt founded confidence I aſſert, the Eaſt India company was never ſo truly ſecure as at preſent, againſt military ambition and encroachment. Never before have diſcipline, good order and ſubordination been ſo fully confirmed;

and I am perſuaded that a relaxation in your orders, at home, and a new degeneracy of your governor and council abroad, are the only probable, I might almoſt ſay, poſſible evils that can ſhake the proſperity of your affairs in Bengal.

Our generoſity of conduct, in reſtoring to Sujah al Dowlah all his dominions, after he had been reduced by conqueſts to the very loweſt ebb of fortune; the great regard we have manifeſted to the king's ſupport and dignity, by paying him regularly that tribute which was never paid to former Moguls, excepting in their plenitude of power and authority; and our reſolving to pay the Marattas their chout are inſtances of our moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, which added to the uninterrupted ſucceſs of our arms, have ſet our equity and courage in ſo fair a point of view, that all the neighbouring powers ſolicit our friendſhip and alliance. Upon us they depend for protection againſt any diſturbers of the peace of the country; and at the ſame time, are under no apprehenſions for our bravery, becauſe they are fully convinced that our ambition extends not beyond the maintenance of our preſent poſſeſſions, and that one of our firſt principles of government is juſtice. This being the true ſtate of affairs, to what purpoſe ſhould I continue longer in a climate, which would certainly prove fatal to me? at the end of another, and another year, I could not leave your concerns in better hands, nor on a more proſperous footing than I now do. I ſhall leave in the chair the man I always wiſhed to be my ſucceſſor; a man whoſe inflexible integrity and ſteadineſs are to be ſecurely relied on; and I will uſe my utmoſt endeavours to

leave

leave with him a well-choſen committee, and to inſpire into all the members of the council my ideas and zeal for the ſervice. If the principles of all your ſervants be not ſuch as we wiſh they were, the ſervice muſt ſuffer; nor will it be in my power to apply a remedy, any farther than by offering you my advice at home. Every thing has already been done here that could be effected by me. The full completion of the great and ſalutary work of reformation muſt be performed by yourſelves: and you may be aſſured, I ſhall, at all times, be equally ready in England as in India, to give every inſtance of my zeal for the company's intereſt, in gratitude to a ſervice from whence I derive my fortune and my honours. I have the honour to be with the greateſt reſpect,

Gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

(Signed) Clive."

At a ſelect committee held at Barraſur the 27th of December 1766, relative to the aſſiduity, ſecrecy and diſintereſtedneſs of the committee, and their reſtraining the trade in new ſilk. Preſent the right honourable lord Clive, preſident, Harry Vereſt, Eſq; and brigadier general John Carnac.

"Divers frauds committed in the company's Calcutta lands, and pergunnah's having already been diſcovered, and there being great reaſon to ſuppoſe that many others of conſequence to the company's intereſt, may ſoon be brought to light.

Agreed, That to promote and facilitate the reſearches now making into the management of theſe lands,

lands, we keep the pergunnah's, &c. in our own hands till the firſt day of the Bengal year enſuing, that our enquiries may meet with no obſtruction, from the artifice, the avarice, or the intereſt of the new farmers.

It being of great importance, that the proceedings and buſineſs of the ſelect committee ſhould be kept ſecret. Agreed, that to prevent accidents, no papers ſhall in future be ſent from the ſecretary's office, or taken from thence under any pretence, except by the preſident or the ſecretary himſelf; and that all the other members of the committee ſhall peruſe in the office ſuch papers as they may want to conſult.

As it has been the conſtant rule of this committee, to oblige all private views to yield to the company's intereſt; and as our honourable employers have ordered a larger inveſtment on raw ſilk, than we are able to provide, whilſt private merchants are permitted to buy up large quantities of that article.

Reſolved, That in future all private trade, without particular permiſſion of raw ſilk, ſpecified in the company's liſt of inveſtment, ſhall be reſtrained.

(N. B. A great eraſure appears here in the original proceedings.)

That this our reſolution be diſpatched to the chief at Caſſimbuzar and the ſuperviſor at Burdewan and Midnipore; and alſo that we recommend to the preſident to grant no pervanah's upon the above account, until the company's demands ſhall be anſwered.

(Signed) Clive,
John Carnac,
H. Verelſt.

Select

Select conſultations, 16th January 1767.

Reſolved by the ſelect committee "That upon lord Clive's taking leave of the ſelect committee; in his lordſhip's minute on the occaſion, he obſerves among other things, that as orders were received to aboliſh the ſalt trade, they muſt be punctually obeyed. Nevertheleſs he is of opinion, that on its then preſent footing it was rather beneficial, than injurious, to the inhabitants of the country; that a continuation of this indulgence, or an equivalent thereto was become neceſſary; and that he flattered himſelf the court of directors would ſettle ſome plan, that would be agreeable to the wiſhes of their ſervants.

Whereupon it was reſolved that the ſociety ſhould be aboliſhed on the firſt day of September 1767; but that the advantages which the country would have received by its continuance, ſhould be fully repreſented to the court of directors. It was alſo reſolved that as lord Clive had relinquiſhed the five ſhares to which he was intitled in the ſalt trade, and all other commercial advantages, that an equivalent be aſſigned to his lordſhip of 1 $\frac{1}{8}$th per cent. upon the revenues of Bengal and Bahar, to commence the firſt of September laſt, and continue to the firſt of September enſuing; and that as Mr. Verelſt will have charge of the government ſeveral months after lord Clive's departure (viz. from January to September) he ſhould draw for 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per. cent. of the revenues until the month of September, after he himſelf ſhould have reſigned the government.

Lord

Lord Clive after having declared his full intention not to engage in any kind of trade himſelf, diſpoſed of the commencial concern which he held a partnerſhip with Meſſrs. Summer, Carnac, Verelſt and Sykes, unto the new partnerſhip of Meſſrs. Verelſt, Sykes, Campbell, Ruſſel and Kilſal; his lordſhip being determined to leave Bengal in January 1767, agreed on the 19th of September 1766, to relinquiſh trade, for which purpoſe on the firſt of October, he ſolemnly entered into an oſtentatious engagement with the tools of his own power. In conſideration of this great ſacrifice, but in defiance of the moſt poſitive orders of the directors to the contrary, a ſelect committee held the ſaid 19th of September 1766. Lord Clive, general Carnac and Mr. Verelſt reſolved to give lord ive 1 $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent on the revenues amounting to near 30,000 l. per annum after his lordſhip had animadverted on Mr. Vanſiart's appointments as too great a burden on the company's eſtate.

In reward for ſervices paſt and to come, the ſelect committee, alſo on the 16th of January 1767, reſolved That the ſame commiſſion ſhall be continued to Mr. Verelſt who had already been rewarded by the commitee of the 21ſt of December 1766, conſiſting of lord Clive and himſelf, with an additional ſhare of the ſalt trade. But as they had agreed for weighty reaſons among themſelves, that his lordſhip ſhould receive this commiſſion for nine months of Mr. Verelſt's adminiſtration; they here entailed this anticipation of their mutual generoſity, upon his ſucceſſor Mr. Cartier who was then abſent at Deeca.

The

The ſelect commitee ſaid in their letter to the court of directors dated the 24th of January 1767.

You very juſtly conſider the inland trade as the foundation of all the bloodſhed, maſſacres and and confuſion which have happened in Bengal of late years. Yet they call in the ſame letter this trade, the beſt method of rewarding faithful ſervices, and the ſure remains to excite zeal, they warmly expoſtulated with the court of directors, on the propriety of this ſtripping their ſervants of all their advantages, and further inſinuated, that gratitude for affluence in ſervice, and for an independency at the cloſe thereof, will be found the ſtrongeſt ties, or motives to the faithful diſcharge of their duty. They further obſerved, that if they were to deviate from lord Clive's plan delivered on a minute of the 16th, it muſt proceed not from ignorance, but from inclination; and that they ſhall become in all reſpects accountable for the conſequence. This is the laſt public letter which lord Clive ſigned.

The copy of the following letter from colonel Richard Smith, to the ſelect commitee at Calcutta dated Illahabad 19th May, 1769, gives an idea of lord Clive's maxims of government.

To the honourable Harry Verelſt, Eſq. Preſident and the gentlemen of the ſelect committee.

Gentlemen,

I had the honour to addreſs the preſident under date of the 25th ultimo, which doubtleſs has been laid before you, and I now incloſe a * ſhukah from the

the king, and a letter from the Vizier, both addreſſed to the preſident.

" * From my long and intimate connection " with the grandees of Hindoſtan, I am apt to ſuſpect all their actions. The unexpected reconciliation betwixt the king and the vizier, and his " majeſty's ſudden journey to Feyrabad, were events that appeared to me fraught with conſequences, as will appear by my letter of the 8th " February to the preſident, and of the 12th of " that month to the ſelect commitee.

" I muſt remark, that whilſt the deputies were " here, the king expreſſed his ſurprize to them, " that notwithſtanding four years were elapſed, he " had not yet received an anſwer from the king of " England. You doubtleſs are informed, that " under this pretext our former preſident, lord " Clive eluded his majeſty's ſolicitations for an army to conduct him to his capital; and I ſuppoſe " you are alſo acquainted with the letters and preſents which lord Clive carried from the king to " our Sovereign. The Emperor has oftentimes " queſtioned me on this ſubject, and to receive " no anſwer from the king, or lord Clive is, to him, " matters, of much aſtoniſhment.——But a few " days ſince, his majeſty again introduced this " ſubject, and obſerved to me, that his not hearing from the king of England was to him conviction, that he never intended to aſſiſt him in " the re-eſtabliſhment of his affairs. " I plainly " ſee," (ſays he) " that you will not march from " hence, and it is impoſſible for me long to remain here, with my hands before me," at the

ſame

" ſame time croſſing his hands as if bound.—I
" muſt own, that I have often been puzzled for a
" proper reply, for it is in vain ſaying, that we wait
" for orders, ſince his majeſty one day aſked me, by
" whoſe orders our forces firſt came to Illahabad?
" and remarked, that thoſe who had the power to
" advance their army ſo far, had alſo the power to
" aſſiſt him, if they had but the inclination. I re-
" late theſe particulars only that you may perceive
" the king's earneſt deſire to march towards his
" capital; and that you may alſo perceive he be-
" gins to ſee plainly, that we do not mean to car-
" ry him thither ourſelves—Diſappointed in the
" hopes he placed on us, rather than forego his fa-
" vourite project, he ſeems determined to em-
" brace the preſent opportunity of making the at-
" tempt by means of his own ſubjects; and per-
" haps the meaſures now purſuing will beſt ex-
" plain the late extraordinary marks of civility
" from the king to the vizier, and the vizier's ſub-
" miſſive return of obedience and attention to his
" ſovereign.

" The king and vizier on this occaſion, have ac-
" ted openly towards me. I was ſent for into the
" preſence, where the engagements which the
" king had required of the vizier, and the vizier's
" petition to the king, were produced. At my
" requeſt copies were given to me, which I now
" incloſe to you.

" I have never found myſelf in a ſituation
" which required a more delicate conduct. The
" very extenſive power which the king has agreed
" to delegate to the vizier, as an encouragement
" to the undertaking of this enterprize, alarms

" me; yet where is the remedy? The company
" have poſitively forbid us to enter into any mea-
" ſure for the king's reſtoration, and you ſeem re-
" ſolved to recal the forces which are ſtationed in
" in this province. Indeed their reſidence here,
" upon the ſyſtem hitherto followed, is utterly
" repugnant to the welfare of the company. For
" my own part, I have from the beginning, con-
" ſidered our connection with the king as a mill-
" ſtone about our necks; and that it would be a
" happy event for the company when ever they
" could honourably diſengage themſelves from
" this connection, and as the orders of the di-
" rectors, and your own intentions are to with-
" draw the greateſt part of your forces from the
" king, it may perhaps be conſidered as more ho-
" nourable for us, that thoſe forces were not with-
" drawn until after the king's were marched from
" Illahabad. Many of my former letters have
" expreſſed my apprehenſions of the king falling
" into the power of the vizier.

" Thoſe apprehenſions are ſtill the ſame, be-
" cauſe I know full well the ambition of the vi-
" zier; but I have reflected, that this ambition will
" now lead him to a remote object, where even
" ſucceſs will inevitably engage him into further
" enterprize; whilſt, on the other hand, our for-
" ces will be collected within our provinces, our
" expences be conſiderably leſſened, and by a pru-
" dent œconomy, we may have the means of ſup-
" porting a war with reputation, ſhould hereafter
" our own provinces be invaded.

" Taking all theſe circumſtances into conſider-
" ation, I thought it not for the intereſt of the

" com-

" pany for me to make any oppoſition ; for with
" what propriety could I oppoſe his majeſty's in-
" clinations, when I knew, you were determined
" to withdraw your forces ? Beſides, ſince I was
" convinced a ſeparation muſt take place, either
" by the king leaving us, or by our leaving him,
" I judged it moſt conſiſtent with the public good
" to part with the king and vizier on the beſt
" terms ; and upon this ſyſtem I framed my con-
" duct. In the vizier's petition to the king, you
" will obſerve an article which reſpects the wel-
" fare of the company. I will do him the juſtice
" to ſay, that he inſerted it without any ſuggeſtion
" whatſoever from me. But when I ſaw new en-
" gagements made which granted ſo much power
" to the vizier, I thought it neceſſary to guard in
" ſome meaſure againſt that power, by binding
" the vizier down, by a ſolemn engagement, al-
" ways to exert his influence with the king for the
" honour and welfare of our nation. The copy of
" this engagement you will alſo receive incloſed,
" and you will readily impute the mode in which
" it is drawn, to proceed from my delicacy to-
" wards the vizier, that no ſuſpicions of his future
" conduct muſt be expreſſed.

" As a declaration from his majeſty, of his
" ſenſe of our fidelity and attatchment, and of his
" determination ever to regard the Engliſh as the
" firm ſupporters of the houſe of Tœmoor, may
" in ſome future times be of uſe, both to the com-
" pany at home, and to their adminiſtration a-
" broad ; I have made ſuch a repreſentation to
" his majeſty and ſhall tranſmit his declaration,
" ſigned in due form in a ſubſequent letter.

" I want language to expreſs to you the ſolici-
" tude with which the king has requeſted me to
" furniſh him with two battalion of ſeapoys, and
" a few Europeans, as a body guard; and which
" both he and the vizier aſſured me, was promi-
" ſed by lord Clive if he would undertake his
" expedition to Dehly. He laid before me the
" honour we had required by our attachment to
" him, and the diſgrace which it would be if we
" ſhould refuſe ſo ſmall a mark of our obedience;
" and it would make the whole empire believe we
" had deſerted him. When I referred his majeſty
" to the orders I ſhould receive from you, he men-
" tioned the fortunate day being fixed for his depar-
" ture, and referred me to my knowledge of the
" embroiled ſtate of affairs in the Jaut's domnions,
" and how much expedition was neceſſary: the
" vizier too in private obſerved to me, that ſuch
" a mark of attention ſurely would not be denied
" to the king; that lord Clive abſolutely made
" ſuch a promiſe is very probable from the inclo-
" ſed extract of his letter to me on this ſubject;
" but I would not on any conſideration whatſoe-
" ver give my conſent, until I receive your in-
" ſtructions; as at the ſame time I promiſed his
" majeſty ſhould have an eſcort to the bounds of
" the Herah province; but I am ſorry to remark,
" that the king was much diſſatisfied with this re-
" ſervation.

" When I reflect that the vizier has ſeveral
" french men in his ſervice, and that one in par-
" ticular is in his confidence, it is to be appre-
" hended that if we recal all of our nation from
" attending him, it will leave an open field for the
" artful

" artful infinuation of our rivals without any check
" whatſoever; and as captain Harper, by the pro-
" priety of his conduct, ſtand very high in eſteem
" of the vizier; I think he would not only prove
" a proper check on the intrigues of theſe French
" men, but from him we ſhould receive true in-
" formation of all tranſactions; beſides having in
" our power to make ſuch repreſentation, to the
" vizier from time to time as circumſtances may
" require.

" From the advices I have received the ſon of
" Buttonſing, an infant of eighteen months, has
" been proclaimed ſucceſſor to his father, but he
" only is an inſtrument in the hands of Don Strah
" who governs as regent; many of the principal
" Jaut's are by no means ſatisfied withthe power he
" aſſumes; and whilſt theſe inteſtine boils prevails
" the Ragepoots, the Marattas and the Rohillahs
" have already begun hoſtibilities in different
" quarters, each endeavouring to aggrandize them-
" ſelves at the expence of the Jauts.

" Before I conclude this letter, I will offer it
" as my opinion that unleſs you avowedly oppoſe
" the king's march with the vizier, it was better to
" concur in what we cannot prevent, without per-
" haps ſubjecting ourſelves to greater inconve-
" niences by attempting to prevent it; if I am to
" believe the preſent appearances, the king is re-
" ſolved to commence his march on the auſpicious
" day, which is the 15th of the next moon, but
" although the terms are finally adjuſted betwixt
" him and the vizier, ſuch is the diſpoſition both of
" the one and the other, that it would not ſurprize

" me

" me if ſome new obſtacles ſhould ariſe. However
" I only mention this as a general obſervation.
" I have only to requeſt you will be pleaſed to
" ſend me your orders with all expedition, and I
" ſhall be happy to hear that I have acted agreea-
" ble to your ſentiments."

To the right honourable lord Clive, preſident and governor, and the council of Fort William.

My lord and gentlemen,

" On my applying ſome time ago to Mr. Bolts, to deſire him to bring the people that complained againſt my Banyan, in order that they might be examined, and if he knew any of the inhabitants that had any complaints againſt me, to inform me, that they ſhould be ſummoned likewiſe, he replied, he propoſed deferring the examination of the Banyan until the board's orders were known, or I conſented to the publication of his former minute, and that regarding myſelf he had nothing farther to offer than what he had already mentioned in his letters to the board; except that the profits which had accrued on his re-coinage of the company's money, muſt be refunded and brought to their credit; and that there were complaints of the badneſs of the rupees that had iſſued from the mint, and which he propoſed to aſſay. To this anſwer of Mr. Bolt's, I replied, that when I ſaw any convincing proof of the Banyans bad behaviour, I ſhould have no objection to the minute being publiſhed, and repeated my requeſt regarding his bringing the complainants, and that regarding the baſeneſs of the metal

metal of the rupees, I never had had any complaints made to me of it, or I ſhould immediately have redreſſed it, and that I know of nothing I was indebted to the company, they having had full credit for each month's revenues that I had received, in Banara ſunnut rupees; the ſpecie I had given the rajah receipts for each kiſt; and that if at any time the rajah's ſhroffs had not that ſpecie by them, to pay the drafts they might have exchanged or re-coined with my people at the mint, and that any advantage of exchanges or re-coinage I ſuppoſed I had received.

In this light, my lord and gentlemen, I then underſtood it was, but on farther inquiries, I have ſince learned that 304,875, rupees that were the company's have been re-ſtamped and re-coined; and that I have credit for a gain thereon given me in the mint accounts, amounting to current rupees, 7,536 2 0, which after deducting current rupees, 999 5 0, for eleven days revenues paid the king, allowing that time for the above ſum being re-ſtamped and re-coined, the balance being current rupees 6 536 13 0. If you order it, I ſhall pay the ſame into the company's caſh.

I am,

My lord and gentlemen,

Your moſt obedient ſervant,

Randolph Marriott."

The

The incloſed is a copy of the Particulars.

Sunnat rupees re-ſtamped — —			190,000 0 0
Amos Gundus Cowries			
Deduct charges, mint 2 2 2 per cent.		—	252 0 0
			189,748 0 0
Batta 11 per cent. — —			20,872 5 0
Current rupees —			210,620 5 0
Sunnut rupees — —	190,000 0 0		
Batta 9 per cent. — —	17,000 0 0		
			207,100 0 0
			3,520 5 0
Sunnut rupees recoined —	114,875 0 0		
One per cent. gain in weight —	1,148 12 0		
	116,023 12 0		
Alloy rupees 3 12 0 per cent. —	4,350 15 0		
Viziery rupees —	120,374 11 0		
Deduct charges in recoinage —			
Amay Piece			
Loſs in melting 4 3 per cent	391 11 0		
Workmen 4 0 ditto —	300 0 0		
Copper — —	98 0 0		
	717 11 0		
	119,657 0 0		
Batta 8 per cent. —	9,572 9 0		
Current rupees —	129,229 9 0		
Sunnut rupees —	114,875 0 0		
Batta 9 per cent. —	10,338 12 9		
	125,213 12 0		
			40,015 13 0
		Current rupees	7,536 2 0
King's duties for eleven days, at 25 00 per month, ſunnut rupees — —	917 0 0		
Batta 9 per cent.	82 5 0		
			999 5 0
		Current rupees —	6,536 13 0

The

The right honourable the preſident and council of Calcutta were not pleaſed to give their ſentiments relative to the publication which the writer had propoſed to have been made through the city of Banaras, and which he had referred to them; nor did they condeſcend to take any notice of Mr. Marriott's or the writer's letters, farther than by ordering both to repair to Calcutta, and deliver over the charge of the factory to Mr. Iſaac Sage, at that time military paymaſter; though at any other period the ſubjects of thoſe letters would have been deemed of the moſt material conſequence to the affairs of the company.

It therefore became neceſſary for the writer to give Mr. Marriott the ſatisfaction he had required relative to the proofs of the other allegations contained in his letters to the preſidency at Calcutta: for this purpoſe it was agreed to continue the conſultations, as Mr. Iſaac Sage ſhould be preſent. The following are the whole proceedings which were held on that occaſion; before Mr. Marriott, and the writer were obliged to repair Calcutta in obedience to the order of the board.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Richard Becher, preſident at the Durbar, to governor Verelſt; as laid before the ſelect committee on the 8th July 1769, relative to the trade and ſtate of the country.

Fort William, July, 1769.

At a ſelect committee, preſent,

The honourable Harry Verelſt, Eſq; preſident.

John Cartier,

James Alexander, and

Charles Floyer, Eſquires.

Read the following extract of a letter from Richard Bechar, Esq; to the honourable president, dated at Moidapore the 7th May 1769.

"I now sit down to put on paper my sentiments on the present situation of affairs in these parts, and to point out what appear to me as necessary steps to be immediately taken for the relief of the inhabitants: the cultivations of the country, and the benefit of the company, I must beg leave to remark at setting out, that my idea of the company's valuable possessions in Bengal is a present increase of revenue or investment with an apparent prejudice to future time, are destructive to the country, and not for the true interest of our employers. On this basis I shall found my opinion, as well on the present mode of providing the company's investments, as on the collection of the revenues.

Since the honourable company have been in possession of the Dewannee, the influence that has been used in providing their investments and under their name good, on private account, has proved such a monopoly, that the Chassars, manufacturers, &c. have been obliged to sell their commodities at any price, those employed to purchase for the English thought proper to give them. They had no choice of any country merchant; Armenian or others attempted to purchase, there was an immediate cry, that it interfered with the company's investment; this plea has been made use of in all quarters for private emolument, to the stagnation of trade and the oppression of the chassars, manufactures.

tures, &c. The latter finding no free vent for their commodities are diſcouraged from producing them, and it is certain that the quaintity of Putney produced in the diſtricts hereabout, decreaſes annually, and it is certain, that if the preſent monopolizing ſyſtem continues, even the company's inveſtment, will be reduced very low although all other conſiderations ſhould continue to give way to it; ſo that even in that reſpect, it becomes good policy to adopt a better ſyſtem, and when it is further conſidered, that the company are now the lord's of this country, and the revenues flow into their treaſury with; me there does not remain a doubt, that it is for their true intereſt, that a plan ſhould be adopted which would leave trade free and open, by which means only proper encouragements can be given to the ryots and manufactures, to raiſe and make the aſſortments required for the company.—I well remember this country, when trade was free, and the flouriſhing ſtate it was then in with concern, I now ſee its preſent ruinous condition, which I am convinced is greatly owing to the monopoly that has been made of late years in the company's name, of almoſt all the manufactures in the country. Let the trade be made free, and this fine country will ſoon recover itſelf; the revenues increaſe, and the company procure as large an inveſtment as they can ſpare money to purchaſe, and theſe purchaſes will prove a benefit to the country inſtead of tending it to ruin, as they now do to demonſtration.

Gentlemen engaged in the mercantile department may object to opening the trade from an apprehenſion, that the branch under their management will be affected by ſuch a ſtep; it may happen

pen the company may be obliged to pay higher price for their goods, and that their inveſtment may fall ſomething ſhort; this ſeaſon by an immediate alteration in the mode of providing it. I ſay this may be conſequence, although I do not believe it will; but even if it ſhould, we ought not in my opinion to heſitate one moment in laying the trade open, the company paying an additional price for their goods, purchaſed with the money of the revenues of the country they are brought in, is no object eſpecially when we conſider the general benefit that will accure from removing all reſtraints on trade; the revenues muſt increaſe as well by the additional cultivation that will enſue, as by the duties paid to the government by the natives, Armenians, &c. they will then be able to purchaſe goods at the firſt hand, which liberty they have been deprived of for ſome years, which has occaſioned a decreaſe in the collection of duties on goods under the Puchoutio of Murſhadabad, only of three lack of rupees at leaſt per annum. The poor man rented that office laſt year at two lacks, has been obliged, to ſell his houſe and goods to make payment of of 170,000 rupees the other 30,000 is a loſs on the eſtimated revenue of the year—this form but a ſmall part of the prejudice and loſs that accures from the preſent deſtructive ſyſtem of providing the company's inveſtment; but they are ſo obvious, that I think is unneceſſary to ſay more on the ſubject, as to the objection that the company's inveſtment will fall ſhort this ſeaſon, I muſt obſerve, that the late prudent reſolution of the preſident and council to lay up a fund in their treaſury, will remove that objection in a great meaſure;

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was there any real ground for the apprehenſion; but when the ſeaſon is conſidered and the large ſums that has been early advanced in all quarters, for the proviſion of goods on the company's accounts; their inveſtment muſt be in ſuch forwardneſs that there can be no danger but goods, to as large an amount as the preſident and council wiſh to have, may be eaſily provided. I therefore muſt think the preſent, the propereſt time for removing a reſtraint from trade, from which juſt meaſure conſiderable benefits will accure to the whole country, the fruits of which will be reaped by our honourable employers, in future without their ſuffering any preſent material inconveniences. The ordered iſſued by the board, to withdraw all pervanahs is a neceſſary ſtep towards further regulation, but unleſs followed by them will anſwer no good end. While thoſe employed in purchaſing for the company can make uſe of that plea to monopolize for their own benefit; the evil will ſtill remain as bad as ever, only the advantage will be in fewer hands, whether the people are Engliſh or natives it ſignifies little, while the power remains, a difficult taſk it will prove to break through it entirely.

In my letter to you of the 11th of February, I gave it as my opinion, that the company ſhould provide their inveſtments, by contracts with the merchants as formerly; I think ſo ſtill, that it will be the only mode that can be adopted to prevent an undue influence, being uſed under the company's name, and will be a means of re-eſtabliſhing merchants in the country, of which you are ſenſible there is a great want, and that having many credi-

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table merchants and ſhroffs will be of general benefit; that is a ſubject you and I may further diſcourſe about when we meet: my grand object is to have the trade immediately free; and I convey my ſentiments to you now, that if you concur with me, no time may be loſt."

The following copy of the petitions of Munny Begum the widow of the late nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, to the board of revenue at Murſhadebad, ſtands recorded on their conſultations.

"It is known to all ranks both high and low, and to all my relations and kindred, that thirty years prior to this, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khawn, when he was pay maſter, entered with me into the bands of matrimony, and intruſted me with the whole authority over the ſeraglio, in which no one participated, but all were implicitly under my ſubjection. After he was exalted to the ſubahdary, my power and dignity every day increaſed: I had the maintenance of his ſons: and when I accompanied him to Calcutta, the honour and dignity which I maintained, all the Engliſh gentlemen are well acquainted with. During his life time, after his reinſtatement to the ſubahdary, I ſtill retained my former ſuperiority: but when he found the approach of death, in hopes of the bountiful favour of the company, he placed my ſon, Naſſim al Dowlah in his room, on the muſnud, and took the road to eternity. My ſon alſo, through the will of the fate and the malignancy of his enemies, without regaling himſelf among with the pleaſures of youth, finiſhed the journey of life, and being ſucceeded by Seyr

Seyf al Dowlah (who likewiſe in a ſhort ſpace of time waſhed his hands of this tranſient world) I propoſed to myſelf, that if the light of my eyes, Mobarack al Dowlah was, with the conſent and approbation of the Engliſh gentlemen placed upon the muſnud of the ſubahdery; I would undertake his education and inſpect myſelf into his affairs. The caſe of Mobareck al Dowlah is this, after being born of Bew, a concubine of Meer Jaffier Mahomed Khawn's, according to cuſtom, committed him to my boſom, and having brought him up for twelve years, the nabob Muzzuffer Jung, has now ſeparated him from me, and has ſo far inveſted himſelf with the management of the buſineſs, that without a pervannah from him, no body can lay a hand on Aberley Corn. He diſmiſſes the old ſervants at his pleaſure, and appoints new ones in their places; ſuffers no one to come within my court; and is daily purſuing meaſures to effect my degradation. He has to my diſhonour, publiſhed that Bew the mother of Mobereck al Dowlah, is appointed to the principal authority in the ſeraglio, and appointing ſervants, ſlaves, eunuch, and guardians in his own behalf; he has uſurped the management of all affairs of the houſhold, and with a view to raiſe himſelf to the ſubahdary without mentioning a word to me, is endeavouring to connect Moberack al Dowlah with his kindred, by bringing about the nuptials between him and the daughter of Fazzel ally Khawn, brother-in-law to Mahomed Reza Khawn, born of a proſtitute. You gentlemen, will pleaſe to conſider with what religion is this conſiſtent? and beſides what I have related, he has acted a part unbecoming a man of honour and dignity

nity, and expoſed me to the infamy of the world, by artfully ſeducing from me the wife of Seyf al Dowlah, after his death, and committing her to the charge of her father Muza Meſſiteh. It is almoſt a year ſince I have received the leaſt trifle, in part of my allowance from the company, and when I demand it, he anſwers, that of the 600 rupees the company have given orders that 300 ſhould be ſaved, and that he would pay me the balance as ſoon as the collections are forthcoming, in which caſe it is impoſſible for me to expreſs the difficulty I labour under, in regard to my expences; and my ſervants are in the greateſt diſtreſs. There is now no means for recovering the affairs of the houſhold out of this ſituation, unleſs you gentlemen of council will pleaſe to appoint ſome Mutſeddee to the charge of them, and ſuffer no one elſe to interfere. In the time of Najam al Dowlah, when he firſt came to the muſnud, it was ordained that I ſhould have the inſpection and ſuperintendency of affairs; but after my ſons were of age to manage for themſelves they had the whole authority. The reaſon of the nabob Muzzafar Jung's enmity and reſentment is this: when lord Clive came up the country, he borrowed the ſum of ſix lacks of rupees, for which he gave an order for payment on Muzzafer Jung: three lacks of which having been diſcharged to me, I paid it to Seyf al Dowlah, which has exalted his diſpleaſure, and the remaining three lacks due on that account, as well as two lacks of the preſent arrears, he procraſtinates payment of; and in order to ſink the money for his benefit, he has bound his loins with enmity to the utter ruin of my affairs, and to involve me in diſgrace and contempt.

tempt. You will pleaſe to conſider, gentlemen, what the nabob Suba Jung (lord Clive) aſſigned for the ſupport of my honour and credit; who is he that counteracts and oppoſes his decrees? As I am acquainted with the affairs of the houſhold, fearful of diſcovery, he has placed me in obſcurity, and appointed ignorant people to authority, who have lengthened the hand of uſurpation upon the treaſure and jewels. The reaſon that I have not before repreſented my ſituation is, the nabob Muzzufer Jung's accompanying Mr. Becher, when he came to viſit me, by which means I was deprived of an opportunity of ſpeaking with him: but ſince to my good fortune, ſome gentlemen who are now arrived in their viſit adminiſtered me comfort, I eſteem it the luckieſt of moments: and after having ſent away Mabereck al Dowlah, who at other times never came near me, and only accompanied the gentlemen at the incitement of my enemies; I revealed to them particularly the uneaſineſs of my heart. For your information, I have likewiſe now wrote to you the particulars of my caſe, in hopes that you would yield me redreſs, otherwiſe I ſwear by God and Jeſus Chriſt, that I will leave Murſhadabad to go to the committee; becauſe living in this diſgrace is worſe than death."

Tranſlation of an addreſs from the ſame dowager to the board of revenues.

"Since I have wrote to you a repreſentation of my caſe, a late extraordinary oppreſſion has happened to me: the three markets where I received the eſtabliſhed duties, and which have belonged

to me ever ſince lord Clive, Mr. Vanſittart, major Adams, general Carnac and other Engliſh ſirdars. The Nabob Muzzafer Jung has now uſurped. Theſe Mahals I held from the company and their ſirdars, to whom my life and property belong. Then who is he who can forcibly deprive me of them? It is from you, gentlemen, that I can expect redreſs for my grievances, and to be reſcued from the oppreſſive hands of my enemies. Agreed, that the Naib Subahdar be requeſted to deliver in an anſwer on the different points the dowager's two petitions treat of, when we will come to a reſolution of ſettling for her, an allowance ſuitable to her dignity and ſtation, and of obtaining her redreſs in any other points that may appear to be really grievances.

Mr. Bolts in his addreſs to the preſident and council of Calcutta animadverts ſeverely on the covenants enjoined to the ſervants of the company, according to lord Clive's new regulations.

"When I was," ſays he, "employed as ſecond of the council at Banaras, the covenants reſtricting the receipts of preſents were ſent up there to be executed. It was at a time when the ſervants civil and military, were univerſally diſguſted at the proceedings of the committee, called ſelect; inſomuch as to have hazarded even the very being of the company in Hindoſtan. I heard at this very time from the beſt authority, that many gentlemen of the council, with ſome of the principal officers in the army, particularly general John Carnac and captain Archibald Swinton, had reſolved not to ſign the ſaid covenants; and it was alſo expected, that thoſe covenants would be countermanded by order

order of the court of directors. Agitated by the general diſcontent, and in the warmth of paſſion, I ſolemnly ſwear I never would ſign the covenants, in queſtion. Soon after I heard, that the gentlemen of the council and of the army excepted captain Swinton, and for ſome time general Carnac, had actually ſigned and reſolved to ſign the ſaid covenants, although captain Swinton in particular, as was publickly known to lord Clive and general Carnac, did never ſign them, though ſtill continuing in the company's ſervice, and having, both he and general Carnac at that time received conſiderable preſents from the country princes.

Finding then, that of neceſſity I muſt either ſign the covenants, or reſign the honourable company's ſervice, all I was concerned was to keep the oath which I had raſhly taken, and ſtill retain the fidelity due to my employers. To avoid breaking the oath which I had though inconſiderately taken, I authorized and told my book-keeper to ſign the covenants for me in my name, at the ſame time having them witneſſed, as my own act and deed; and as ſuch I perſonally delivered them to Mr. Randolph Marriott, who was then chief of Banaras.

I then did, and now do acknowledge them as my own act and deed, the articles of which I was reſolved never to infringe, and as a proof thereof, very ſoon after the execution of the ſaid covenants, his highneſs the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, while living at my houſe at Banaras, offered me a jaguer of thirty thouſand rupees per annum, and actually ſent me a regular pervanah or graht thereof, ſigned and ſealed, which I refuſed to accept of; though I ſhould have had as good right, as lord Clive ever had to that which he at preſent enjoys, or as colo-

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nel Smith now preſent before me, will ever be able to claim to the two lacks, which notwithſtanding his utmoſt addreſs was forced upon him by the preſent impoveriſhed Mogul emperor, who at that very time was, as it were a priſoner in his camp.

Though I acknowledged this covenant as my act and deed, it was repreſented in the moſt criminal light to lord Clive by the inſiduous arts of Mr. Sage, who to ſcreen his own perfidy with reſpect to me, endeavoured by every means to blacken me in the eyes of my ſuperiors. One ſhould not ſuppoſe that perſons in reſpectable ſtations ſtood forth the protectors of the moſt infamous breaches of private friendſhip. My pretended judges entered on the conſultations a very frivolous letter written by me, for a particular purpoſe, to Monſieur Gentil, a gentleman protected and permitted to reſide at Fyſabad, by lord Clive, general Carnac, and many other gentlemen in power by whom he was employed: there it was made the foundation of a heavy crime againſt me, though it contained only the Bezar news of Calcutta. The board was betrayed into a belief, that they can upon occaſion reſolve themſelves into a ſupreme court of judicature. I was accuſed of caballing againſt the ſtate, or adminiſtration, as they are pleaſed to call their own acts, and of correſponding with the country powers, for which I was made a priſoner and tranſported. The firſt charge is abſolutely falſe, and conſtantly urged by a very iniquitous adminiſtration, againſt all who have the reſolution to oppoſe their meaſures. To the ſecond, I anſwer, that I defy any man to produce one ſingle inſtance wherein that correſpondence can be conſtrued as a breach of my loyalty as a Britiſh ſubject, or as injurious

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to the intereſts of the company. Not being in the ſervice, I was no ways ſubject to the bye-laws made for the interior government of the factories. I allow that my correſpondence may ſome time have proved detrimental to individuals, whom it may have prevented from receiving conſiderable bribes, by their impoſing upon the ignorance of thoſe to whom I wrote.

Under the head of miſmanagement, what I have laid to the charge of the preſident and council, the following facts will now and hereafter, ſufficiently ſpeak for themſelves. The enormous baky, or deficiency which, at the end of this ſeaſon, will appear in the revenues, will not be leſs than from ſixty lacks to one crore of rupees; although from reputation ſake, the artifice will be again uſed, of a farther poſtponing of the pvonia beyond the uſual time, in order to appropriate the nally collections to the reduction of the batteia.

The deficiency which will appear in the inveſtment: which though originally ordered by you (according to the liſts ſent to the different aurungs) for one hundred and twenty five lacks of rupees, yet will not probably amount to fifty; while ten ſhips at leaſt will expect cargoes, and be returned with almoſt half their tonnage unemployed by the company, and conſequently loſt to them.

The frauds, which in conſequence of inattention to the tranſactions at the Durbar and Caſſimbezar, have been introduced to the detriment of the company's affairs; as now under the inſpection of the deputies lately ſent.

Barracks, which have been charged to the company at five times their real worth.

Our

Our charges on timber on other places, which article above ſtands on the company's books under different heads, rated at about fifteen lacks; for which there is not exiſting the intrinſic worth of three lacks. Beſides the iniquitous frauds and miſmanagement in the revenues, which will hereafter appear to have paſſed unnoticed, and which upon a future occaſion I will undertake to point out.

The ſcarcity of ſilver, and the injudicious introduction of a baſe gold coin, which already by the riſe of batta, has become a tax upon the fortunes of every inhabitant (now univerſally clamorous) equivalent at leaſt to eleven per cent. A grievance under which the poor are more particularly oppreſſed, and which, if better management be not ſpeedily exerted, will daily increaſe, and in the end terminate in a loſs, to the honourable company, of at leaſt ten or fifteen lack of rupees.

Under the head of the illegal adminiſtration of juſtice. In the management of the collections, while in ſome places the utmoſt remiſſineſs is ſhewn, in others the exactions of the harpies employed are carried on with ſuch oppreſſion, particularly towards the poor, that parents have been forced to ſell their children to ſatisfy the demands made on them on this head. In the proviſion of the company's inveſtment, the rigorous and oppreſſive meaſures taken with the manufacturers, in ſome places have occaſioned winders of raw ſilk, to cut off their thumbs, to prevent them being forced to work; in other places weavers have been, by the company's agents, publickly flogged through the town, and deprived in the moſt ignominious and cruel manner of what is moſt valuable to them, their caſts, for having only dared to ſell in the

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Bezar a few pieces of cloth of their own manufacturing or providing; and the ſaid Engliſh agents, in order to ſcreen themſelves, have after all tranſferred theſe unhappy people to the nabob's officers for further puniſhment. Deball's who have had obligatory bonds forced from them, not to furniſh their cloth, except to certain perſons, at prices much below the market, and who have notwithſtanding ventured to ſell their property to others; when detected they have been by the company's agents impriſoned, put in irons and flogged, while large ſums of money have been exacted from them by way of fines.

Under the head of committee's private emoluments, private monopolies have been eſtabliſhed by the members of the committee and council among themſelves in ſalt, cotton, piece goods, ſaltpetre, raw ſilk, ſugar, &c. in which they have all been, or are more or leſs jointly or ſeparately concerned. The firſt as to the profits, was the moſt conſiderable of them all, and was principally eſtabliſhed and conducted by Mr. Verelſt under lord Clive's ſanction, who was enabled to plan it ſolely from the foreknowledge he obtained, as a member of the committee, of the regulations which were to be eſtabliſhed. The profits ariſing on thoſe monopolies almoſt exceed belief; the concerned having bought at 90 rupees what they ſold for four hundred, and making the poor inhabitants pay four rupees for the common courſe of things he would have got for one.

All thoſe monopolies tended viſibly to the ruin of the country and are infringements of the rights of individuals, they will be ſufficient to evince that the uſurped power of the council and committee is

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a fund for the private emolument of their members, no ways beneficial to the company's affairs. It is unfortunate for the public and the court of directors, that the above tranſactions ſhould have been done, occaſioned or connived at by gentlemen in their public ſtations, who were ſelected to eſtabliſh juſtice and equity, and to baniſh immorality, rapacity and corruption, on whom the eyes of mankind were fixed, as on titular ſaints expected to ſave a Sodom and Gomorrah from deſtruction.

All theſe and various other abuſes in all the branches of this odious adminiſtration, gave occaſion to the following new inſtructions of Eaſt India directors to their preſident and council at Calcutta.

It having been repreſented to us that the company may be greatly benefited in the ſale of broad cloth, iron, copper, lead and other European commodities, by ſending proper perſons to reſide at Ringpore, and to explore the interior parts of Bootan Aſſam and other countries adjacent to Gaolperah, and as you will know our earneſt deſire to extend the vent of the ſtaples of this kingdom to as great a degree as poſſible, we are ſurpriſed you have not already made an attempt to procure the beſt accounts poſſible, and give us your opinion thereon.

On comparing the once flouriſhing ſtate of the commerce of Bengal, with the gradual decline it has undergone for ſeveral years paſt, it gives us the greateſt concern that ſo unhappy a change ſhould have happened under our government, and at a time when our influence over the whole country was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed to enable our ſervants

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to remove every viſible ſource of this unnatural decay. Hence we have been led to the moſt ſerious enquiries and inveſtigation of the various cauſes which may have produced ſuch fatal effects, and as in this reſearch there have ariſen to our view many evils which muſt have brought on the preſent declining ſtate of the country, we ſhall here point out ſuch remedies as we deem equally neceſſary and effectual for reſtoring Bengal to its former vigour, and to the full exerciſe and circulation of that commerce, from which the company, as well as the kingdom itſelf, had received ſuch great and manifeſt advantages.

As freedom in trade is neceſſarily productive of its encreaſe, the mode of providing your inveſtments by Gomaſtahs, muſt be a perpetual bar to that freedom which we are ſo ſolicitous to eſtabliſh; we therefore hereby order and direct, that you revert to your former practice of providing inveſtments by contracts with Dadney merchants; and in the conduct of this meaſure you muſt, by a general publication of our intentions invite as great a number of merchants to deliver propoſals, and make your contracts as extenſive as poſſible, being attentive at the ſame time, to the improvement of the ſeveral manufactures, and taking care that you engage only with merchants of good character, and ſufficiently valid for the full performance of their contracts.

Though by encreaſing the number of Dadney merchants, the company's riſk in the advances it may be neceſſary to make, will be leſſened, you muſt however require from them a proper and competent ſecurity for their engagements; as we can-

not conſider the merchants being bound for each other, as ſufficient to prevent the loſſes we may be ſubject to by the failure of particular perſons. It is no leſs expedient that the Dadney merchants, with whom you may contract, be liable and agree to ſuch penalties as have been cuſtomary, or may be requiſite, for ſecuring to the company the full and timely delivery of the goods they ſhall engage to provide; and for preventing any debaſement in the quality, or a deficiency in the meaſure thereof, and theſe merchants muſt alſo be bound, under proper penalties, not to purchaſe, or provide for any perſon whatſoever, ſuch ſorts and ſpecies of goods and manufactures as they ſhall contract to ſupply for your inveſtment.

Upon the revival of the ancient mode of providing inveſtments by Dadney merchants, you may not for ſome time at leaſt, be able to procure from them ſuch a quantity of goods as our occaſions may require, you are in ſuch a caſe to open your warehouſes, for ready money purchaſers of ſuch articles as may be wanted to ſupply the deficiency of your contracts, and may be fit and proper for the European market; but as we are apprehenſive that ſuch purchaſes may furniſh us with goods of the common aſſortments only, you muſt be attentive to ſecure, by your contracts, as large a proviſion as poſſible of the beſt and approved fabricks; to this injunction, we are not only led by preſent neceſſity, but we aſſure ourſelves, that by ſuch means the manufactures of Bengal will ſoon be reſtored to their former degree of fineneſs and eſtimation; ſo that our ſhips may not, as of late, be returned to us with deprecated fabricks, ſome of which

have

have scarce produced their original costs, and in these important objects, we hope and trust, that your regard for our interests will engage you to pursue such measures as shall be most likely to promote our views and affect our designs for the benefit of the country, as well as the company's commerce.

As the aim of our orders for removing from the Aurungs, the company's gomastahs, and agents of any denomination, is to relieve the weavers and manufactures, who have long groaned under the oppression of such petty tyrants; we earnestly recommend to you to consider and apply the most effectual means to prevent the gomastahs and agents of any persons, under our jurisdiction, from exercising the like abuses, exactions and extortions as we have reason to fear have been committed by persons under sanction of the company's name. You are also by maintaining a due execution of justice in the several courts throughout the provinces, to afford the oppressed natives all such relief as may encourage them to pursue with alacrity their several occupations; and by convincing them of the benefits of our influence, excite them to recompense, by their industry the attention of their benefactors.

As it is impossible for us to be minutely informed of the regulations established by the constitution of the country, for the security of the persons and property of the native inhabitants; it must therefore rest on your local knowledge, to judge of the internal policy and if the executive parts of justice be defective in any point, or too confined to yield that universal relief which we are solicitous to obtain for

every

every individual. In caſe the means ſhould not be equal to this; and you muſt not fail to employ your influence with the government, to ſupply all defects, and to inſtitute ſuch inferior orders of magiſtracy as may be wanting for the entire protection of all ranks and degrees of the people.

Should the ſuperior courts in the ſeveral diſtricts require any reform, your own judgment will ſuggeſt to you the means, and your humanity will excite your efforts for preventing any abuſes or negligences in the due courſe of juſtice; we muſt however, particularly recommend, that all power of the judges, in impoſing arbitrary fines, be immediately aboliſhed, and it will be proper that the Sunnuds appointing judges for the Mahomeddars, or Bramins for the Hindoos, be regiſtered in form; and that a record be made of the ſentences in the nabob's courts; one copy to be kept in the cutchery, and another tranſmitted to Murſhadabad.

As it may happen that the proceſſes of the courts, while they aim at the remedy of one evil, may be productive of another, you muſt enjoin our ſervants, wherever they ſhall be ſtationed, to recommend in all matters of property between the natives, that they adjuſt their differences by arbitration, inſtead of legal ſuits, which may involve both parties in trouble and expence. And having reaſon to apprehend, that the abuſes of the country courts, in requiring the different parties to give ſecurity for the payment of chout, on the adjuſtment of diſputes by arbitration, have tended greatly to diſcourage the mode of deciding differences, you muſt uſe your influence with the government for

for the abolition of the choût, enacted by the courts in caſes of arbitration.

From a conviction, that the moſt effectual means to reſtore and invigorate the trade of Bengal, will be the opening of every proper channel for its extenſion, and giving it that general freedom which is ſo neceſſary to encourage the induſtry, and attract the attention of the natives; we can no longer permit our ſervants, of any rank or ſtation whatever, to enjoy the privilege of duſtucks. And here when we ſpeak of duſtucks you are to underſtand, not only duſtucks, but pervanahs, orders, letters, or any other powers or favours which may be conferred; or which can in any way yield an influence or ſuperiority in favour of one more than another, and this without the leaſt diſtinction to nation or complexion.

It is therefore our pleaſure, that all duſtucks be immediately withdrawn, and that native merchants as well as Europeans, under our protection, may have every excitement to extend their views to the increaſe of that commerce which we have reaſon to fear, has been long languiſhing under thoſe diſcouragements which the privileges of our ſervants have enabled them to lay on the general circulation of trade.

Perſuaded as we are, that the internal traffic of Bengal has received farther checks from the duties which are levied, and the exactions which are impoſed at petty chokeys; we poſitively direct that no ſuch chockeys be ſuffered to continue, on any pretence whatever, to impede the courſe of commerce from one part of the provinces to another.

It

It is however neceſſary, that the nine general chockeys which have been eſtabliſhed for collecting the duties payable to the ſircar, ſhould remain, and thoſe only; and that a perſon on the part of the nabob ſhould reſide at each chockey, to receive the uſual and eſtabliſhed tolls, and that one or more of our civil ſervants, on behalf of the company, as dewans, ſhould be ſtationed at each chockey to ſuperintend the receipts, keep proper regiſters of all collections, and take care that no impoſitions or irregularities be committed: and you are to give the moſt peremptory and poſitive orders for their ſending to the preſidency monthly accounts of the collections, minutely ſpecifying the names of the ſeveral perſons who may pay the duties; the number of boats; the quality and quantity of the goods; the name of the perſon to whom ſuch goods belongs; the day of payment, and the time ſuch cargoes are detained, and when diſpatched, with a full and ample ſtate of all tranſactions whatever. Theſe accounts are to be tranſmitted within ten days, after the expiration of each month, to the board of revenue, who are to ſuperintend their conduct, and from time to time give them ſuch directions as they ſhall think neceſſary.

As we underſtand, that the ſubjects of other European nations though they claim a right to duſtucks, have conſtantly paid a conſtant regulated toll at the general chockeys, the accuſtomed duties muſt be collected from them, by the government in the manner hitherto practiſed; for it is our poſitive injunction, that no extraordinary tolls be levied, and no obſtructions or unneceſſary delays

lays be given to their paſſage, ſo that they may not have any juſt cauſe to complain of arbitrary proceedings, or any undue exerciſe of our power as dewans.

With reſpect to the natives and all thoſe under our juriſdiction, we further direct that no oppreſſions or impediments be laid on their traffic up and down the river; but that upon their conforming to ancient cuſtoms and paying the eſtabliſhed duties, the paſſage of their goods be facilitated by all poſſible diſpatch.

Senſible that the abolition of the duſtucks may deprive ſome of our ſervants of advantages, which they may not have forfeited by any abuſe of ſuch privilege, we ſhall not be inattentive to ſome proper means of extending our favour to them. We therefore direct, that for all duties which may be paid by our ſervants of the ſeveral ranks to which we before allowed the uſe of duſtucks, certificates be granted them by the collectors at the eſtabliſhed chockeys: and upon their making affidavit, that the goods on which ſuch imports were levied were on their own account, and not directly or indirectly the property of any other perſon whatever, you are to tranſmit to us an account, for one year, of all ſuch certificates, diſtinguiſhed under the different ranks and denominations of our reſpective ſervants; the better to enable us to judge what gratifications may be proper to beſtow, as an incitement to their diligence, and to the faithful diſcharge of their ſeveral duties.

Another means to revive the drooping commerce of Bengal, is to eſtabliſh a free intercourſe with the more diſtant princes and the territories of Sujah al Dow-

Dowlah, and here we are led to remark, that as by the eight article of our treaty with that Subdahar in 1765, it had been ſtipulated, that the company ſhould have a trade duty free throughout the whole of his dominions, the canceling of that article, by a general prohibition of any further trade to his country, appears to have been equally unadviſed and unneceſſary. This prohibition is the more extraordinary, as we no where find that Sujah al Dowlah had ever requeſted you ſo to do, or even intimated any complaint of the abuſe of that article, but what was of a private nature, and might have been obviated by the authority of our preſident and council, without having recourſe to a remedy ſo impolitic and pernicious, as depriving the company of the advantages which were to be expected from a free trade to his dominions, right information and experience have convinced us that all the ancient proſperity of Indoſtan did entirely depend on the freedom of dealings, under ſuch reſtrictions only as were neceſſary to prevent frauds.

The miſconduct of our ſervants in this reſpect is aggravated by a conſequential loſs of 20 per cent. in the ſales of a great part of our exports, and ſo far are they from having any plea of miſconſtruction of our orders of the 17th of March 1766. That they were then expreſsly directed to make the extenſion of the ſale of woollens and European goods, the principal object of the eighth article of the treaty. We therefore hereby require you to revoke the prohibition which has been iſſued, and to open and extend, to the utmoſt of your power, that commerce to which we were intitled by the

ſtipu-

ſtipulation in 1765, and which has been renewed and confirmed us by a ſubſequent treaty.

Convinced of the benefits which muſt reſult both to the company and the province of Bengal, from ſuch intercourſe of traffick, it muſt be your care, to avoid giving Sujah al Dowlah the leaſt reaſon to deſire the revocation of his grant, in a diminution of its effects in any one inſtance. And while our views herein are no ways to interfere with the orders we have given for reſtricting the reſidence of free-merchants to the preſidency, we cannot apprehend that any abuſe of thoſe privileges of a free trade will prevent the ſubahdar from ſeconding our deſigns, and affording us an advantage which muſt tend to his own as well as the company's intereſt. And your purpoſe may be more eaſily obtained and better effected by proper regulations; you will recommend to Sujah al Dowlah the eſtabliſhing of one chockey on the Caramnaſſa, at the frontier of his territories; and that permits be there granted, giving an exemption to all boats paſſing that chockey into his dominions, from any further ſearch, hindrance or moleſtation.

When we advert to the encomiums you have paſſed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the company's intereſt; in the expoſtulation you have thought proper to make on our appointment of commiſſioners to ſuperintend our general affairs in India. We cannot but obſerve with aſtoniſhment, that an event of ſo much much importance, as the death of the Nabob Seyf al Dowlah, and the eſtabliſhment of a ſucceſſion in ſo great a degree of non-age, ſhould not have been attended with thoſe advantages for the com-

pany, with ſuch a circumſtance offered to your view.

We mean not here to diſapprove the preſerving of the ſucceſſion in the family of Meer Jaffier; on the contrary, both juſtice and policy recommend a meaſure which at once correſponds with the cuſtoms and inclinations of the people in Bengal, but when we conſider the ſtate of minority of the new Subahdar, we know not on what grounds it could have been thought neceſſary to continue to him the ſtipend alloted to his adult predeceſſors.

Convinced, as we are, that an allowance of ſixteen lacks per annum, will be ſufficient for the ſupport of the nabob's ſtate and rank, while a minor, we muſt conſider every addition thereto, as ſo much to be waſted on a herd of paraſytes and ſycophants, who will continually ſurround him; or, at leaſt to be hoarded up, a conſequence ſtill more pernicious to the company. You are therefore during the non-age of the nabob, to reduce his annual ſtipend to ſixteen lacks of rupees: and this we we have the greater reaſon to require, as we find ourſelves ſubjected to the payment of large ſums, due from the revenues of the dewannee before the company became poſſeſſed thereof, on account of the navy donation, and the arrears of that to the army, the balance due for the reſtitution to the Europeans, colonel Munro's demand of two lacks, the debt due to Bolakydaſs and the annual ſum of one lack, for ten years, which we have agreed to pay to Juggut Seat: all which, preſs on us with ſuch united force, that our treaſures will be unable to ſatisfy theſe ſeveral demands without wounding our commercial intereſts and endangering our poſſeſ-

poſſeſſions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the ſavings we may expect from this reduction will properly become a fund for military exigencies; which fund being ſolely applicable to the defence of the provinces, will contribute no leſs to the nabob's future benefit than to that of the company. At a time when every juſtifiable meaſure ſhould be adopted for availing the public and the company of all the advantage we had in proſpect from our poſſeſſion of the dewannee, we cannot but reflect on the diſſipation of a conſiderable part thereof, by the allowance to the nabob's miniſters.

And here we muſt obſerve, that how great ſoever the application of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and his adherence to the company's intereſt may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto: and as the buſineſs of the collections of our revenues, when they ſhall have been thoroughly inveſtigated by the ſupervifors appointed for that purpoſe, will require little or no aſſiſtance from that miniſter; we muſt deem the continuance of his preſent ſalary as a waſte of theſe reſources which are become ſo eſſentially neceſſary, both for the ſecurity of our poſſeſſions, and the extenſion of your inveſtments. It is therefore our pleaſure, that the annual allowance of nine lacks, which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him. But as the minority of the nabob will make it requiſite for you to appoint, as his guardian, a perſon of experience in the affairs of government, and of approved attachment to the company's intereſt; your choice muſt reſt on Mahommed Reza Khawn, and you are to allow him,

whilſt

whilſt in that ſtation, a ſalary of five lacks of rupees per annum, which we conſider not only as ſuitable to ſuch a ſtation, but as a munificent reward for the ſervices he may render the company in the execution of his office.

The annual allowance to Juggut Seat, as aſſiſtant to Mahomet Reza Khawn, has been a drain on our revenues, without the leaſt benefit from his adminiſtration; for we are well aſſured, that he has never afforded us a ſingle inſtance of ſervice; his allowance therefore muſt be immediately ſtruck off. But with regard to Roydoolub, though we cannot expect from him any ſervices equal to his preſent appointments; yet, in conſideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of government, and his advanced age, we are diſpoſed to continue the ſalary he never enjoys. But on his death, this allowance is not to be given to any perſon whatever.

As the reduction of the nabob's ſtipend is adventitious and temporary, we by no means intend that the commiſſion of two and one half per cent. granted to our ſervants, on our territorial revenues, ſhould be increaſed by this alteration, and therefore the former ſtipend, of thirty-ſix lacks, muſt ſtill be deducted from the groſs amount of theſe revenues. In like manner, no commiſſion muſt be drawn on the ſums which may be retrenched from the appointments to the nabob's miniſters.

We order and direct, that when the navy and army donations ſhall have been wholly ſatisfied, and reimburſed to us out of the aggregate reductions before mentioned; ſuch further ſums as ſhall ariſe therefrom, are to be applied, from time to time

time, to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the reſtitution fund, in ſuch proportions as the reſpective claims may bear to each other, until the whole ſhall be diſcharged: but you are to take notice that the principal only of the ſums due from the ſircar are to be conſidered, and allowed in the payments here ordered.

The advantages which muſt accrue to the company from the reſidence of the king within our provinces are, both in the view of œconomy and ſound policy, too obvious to need any illuſtration; this object therefore exacts your moſt ſerious attention; and acquires every judicious effort, which can improve his confidence in our attachment to him, and thereby the better engage his compliance with our wiſhes in this reſpect.

As this point is equally delicate and important, we recommend to you, to lay hold of the firſt favourable opportunity which ſhall offer for an overture to the king on the ſubject, in which we doubt not but your own judgment will ſuggeſt to you the expediency of repreſenting all the benefits his majeſty will find, from having the forces of the company nearer his perſon, and ready to unite on any occaſion, in ſupport of our alliance with him, without being obliged to march through territories of any one who may be diſpoſed to take advantage of our ſituation, any accidental circumſtance of weakneſs and diſtreſs. To this plea, muſt be added, the ill effects of the continual drains of the ſpecie in Bengal, on account of his annual tribute; which when carried beyond your poſſeſſions, muſt in a great degree, be loſt to the neceſſary circulation,

and

and may prevent that punctuality in our remittances, which we have hitherto maintained; and may in time wholly incapacitate us from fulfilling the ſtipulations we are ſo deſirous to preſerve inviolate.

Theſe and ſuch farther arguments, as ſhall appear moſt conducive to the end, will, we hope prevail on the king to eſtabliſh his reſidence at Rage-mahl or Mongheer, or ſuch other place, within the provinces as may be thought moſt proper for the purpoſe, and moſt likely to preſerve to us that influence which is ſo eſſential to the company's welfare.

The political intereſt of the company make us no leſs ſolicitous to obtain, from Sujah al Dowlah, on exchange of the territories of Bulwantſing for the provinces of Korah and Illahabad, now held for the king, as by ſuch exchange, our frontiers would be more eaſily defended, a greater influence would be preſerved by us over the neighbouring powers, and we might poſſibly be relieved from the neceſſity of keeping up ſo large and expenſive a military eſtabliſhment, as we have at preſent in Bengal.

We are not inſenſible of the difficulties which may oppoſe your negociations on this ſubject. Theſe however, we perſuade ourſelves, may in time be overcome by a proper attention on the part of our ſervants, and by their availing themſelves of the circumſtances which may occur, either in the ſituation, deſires, projects, temper or wants of this prince, and we recommend to you to lay hold of every opportunity which may offer for accompliſhing by a friendly negociation, ſo deſirable an end.

There is another object of the moſt eſſential conſequence, which calls forth the utmoſt exertion of

your

your abilities; we mean the obtaining from Sujah al Dowlah the abſolute ceſſion to us of the fort of Chunar.

As we have experienced the ſtrength of this fortreſs and are ſenſible of the vaſt importance, the poſſeſſion of it would be to the company, you muſt uſe your utmoſt endeavours to acquire by friendly means, what could not be retained without violence. We therefore enjoin you not to leave uneſſayed any effort, which prudence can ſuggeſt, for obtaining from Sujah al Dowlah, the ceſſion of Chunar Fort; but as our view is to acquire it by treaty not by force; and conſidering alſo the ſituation, power and influence of this Subahdar; your negociations muſt be conducted with the greateſt caution and delicacy; and you muſt ſtrive, by every fair and honourable means, to ſtrengthen his friendſhip and engage his confidence, nevertheleſs, you muſt not abate of your attention to all his motions, nor forego any opportunity to impreſs him with an opinion of our activity and power.

And here we take occaſion to obſerve, that ſhould we at any time obtain from him the ceſſion of this fortreſs, you muſt not fail to keep in it a ſtrong garriſon of Europeans, under the command of an able and experienced officer, which ſuch poſſeſſion would enable you to do, ſince the ſecurity which our poſſeſſions would thereby receive, would admit of a reduction in our other garriſons.

Senſible of the difficulties which oppoſed your endeavours to obtain the removal of Monſieur Gentil, from the court and councils of Sujah al Dowlah, we approve of the delicacy with which you

you have acted towards the vizier, in your requiſitions on this ſubject, but as we cannot ſee a perfect of the abilities of Monſieur Gentil, a natural enemy of this nation, as well as of the company, continuing in poſſeſſion of a power to promote the deſigns of France, and not be alarmed for the conſequences of his influence at the Subahdar's court, you muſt therefore, lay hold of the firſt favourable opportunity to renew your requeſt to Sujah al Dowlah, to remove Monſieur Gentil from his ſervice.

From the tenderneſs and caution obſerved in your former applications to the vizier, we cannot doubt, but that you will conduct yourſelves with equal circumſpection on any future occaſion, more eſpecially as the other intereſting points which you will have to tranſact with him render it eſſentially neceſſary for you to conciliate his affection and engage his confidence in our alliance, whereby he may be the more readily diſpoſed to comply with our deſires reſpecting other important objects, as well as the diſmiſſion of Mr. Gentil.

Your repreſentation of the diſtreſſed ſtate of the ſurviving family of Serfraz Khawn, has excited in us ſo great compaſſion for them, on account of the preſent reverſe of their former ſplendor and affluence, that we aſſent to the addition of one thouſand rupees per month, which you have made to the allowance before granted to that family, on the reſervation of their talook to the ſole uſe and benefit of the company.

As the re-annexing to the revenues of the Surcar, the jagueer of rupees 22,000 per annum, which had been ſettled on Maharajah Durgenarain, has

reduced

reduced him to a ſtate of indigence, we are inclined, from the like motives of compaſſion, to turn our view from that miſmanagement which occaſioned his preſent unhappy circumſtances. In conſideration therefore of his diſtreſs, and the ſervices which his brother Ramnaraw has rendered the company; we aſſent alſo to the allowance of rupees 1200 per month, granted by you to the Mahorajah for his ſupport.

In order to determine your powers for ſending home perſons who may have infringed the rights of the company, or acted in defiance of the authority veſted by us in our ſervants; we herewith tranſmit a duplicate to our preſident and council, a particular power or commiſſion, under the company's ſeal for that purpoſe; and as you will thereby ſee how far our ſervants are juſtified in ſeizing and ſending to England any of his majeſty's ſubjects who may violate the rights and privileges granted to the company by ſundry acts of parliament, we refer you to the ſame for your guidance.

To remedy ſeveral defects in the engagements which we have been formerly entered into with us, by our ſervants both civil and military, and by ſurgeons, free-merchants, free-mariners and others, that are now or may hereafter be employed by the company, or permitted to reſide in India, under our licence and protection, we have thought proper (with the advice of our ſtanding council and ſolicitor) to add ſome clauſes to the covenants, uſually entered into by the civil and military ſervants and free merchants, in order to reſtrain them from

aſſiſting foreign companies, or ſupplying country powers with warlike ſtores, and to prevent them from remaining in India beyond a time limited, after proper notice given them to depart.

With the ſame view we have thought it neceſſary, that all ſurgeons and free-mariners ſhould enter into covenants with the company, nearly to the like effect as the reſtrictive clauſes above-mentioned.

But that all our civil and military ſervants and ſurgeons or aſſiſtant ſurgeons, as likewiſe the free-merchants and free-mariners now in India, may be put upon an equality in their covenant engagements with the company, with thoſe who ſhall go from England hereafter, we now ſend you ſuch a number of covenants, as upon a calculation made, we deem ſufficient to be entered into by the perſons under the above deſcriptions that may be employed in, or reſide at or under our preſidency at Bengal. Upon the receipt of theſe advices and covenants, it is our poſitive order and direction, that each of the above deſcribed perſons be required to ſign one of the ſaid covenants according to the rank and ſtation he may be in; and ſhould any perſon refuſe a compliance, with this our order if he is in our ſervice, he muſt be diſmiſſed therefrom, and ſent home, or if one under our protection, ſuch protection is to be withdrawn from him, and the perſon for refuſing to be ſent to England, (and here it is needful to obſerve,) that you muſt enjoin each perſon to deſire two reſponſible perſons in England to enter into the following ſecurity bonds.

The

The bond for the governor is to be in	£. 10,000
Each [illegible]llor	4000
Each ſenior merchant	3000
Each junior merchant	2000
Each factor	1000
Each writer	500
Each ſurgeon or aſſiſtant	1000
Each free merchant	2000
Each free mariner	500

As the famine of Bengal though ſubſequent of lord Clive's adminiſtration, was the conſequence of the ſyſtem of monopoly which he had introduced, and which operated on the principal company's ſervants in Bengal ſome years after his lordſhip's reſignation of the preſidency, we ſhall here ſubmit to the judgment of our readers the extracts from the general letter written by the court of Eaſt India directors to their preſident and council at Calcutta.

"At a time when a famine was depopulating a country with which we are ſo immediately connected, and in the proſperity whereof we are deeply intereſted, we cannot but highly approve every well meant and generous effort to relieve the miſeries of the poor inhabitants; by whom in a ſpecial manner, the calamity muſt have been experienced in all its dreadful conſequences. And as we enjoy a very ſingular pleaſure in commending thoſe of our ſervants, whoſe attention has been turned towards alleviating the general diſtreſs; ſo are we filled with the greateſt indignation on finding a charge exhibited againſt any perſon whatever (but eſpecially natives of England) for monopolizing grain; and thereby aggravating the woes, and no doubt increa-

increaſing the numbers of wretched mortals la-
bouring under the moſt awful circum[illegible] which
could poſſibly happen to any people whatſoever.

We are led to theſe reflexions by peruſing the letters from Mr. Becher and Mahummed Reza Khawn, which accuſe the gomaſtahs of Engliſh gentlemen, not barely for monopolizing grain, but for compelling the poor ryots to ſell even the ſeed requiſite for the next harveſt. It was natural for us to expect, upon reading the above advices, that the ſtricteſt enquiry into the names and ſtations, would have been the immediate conſequence; and that the moſt exemplary puniſhment had been inflicted upon all offenders, who could dare to counteract the benevolence of the company, and entertain a thought of profiting by the univerſal diſtreſs of the miſerable natives, whoſe dying cries, it is ſaid were too affecting to admit of an adequate deſcription!

You will judge from hence, how great muſt have been our ſurprize on obſerving, that upon a general charge of this nature having been made, and not one name ſpecified, you never entered into any enquiry at all about the matter; and what ſeems equally ſtrange and abſurd, you, in general terms, tell the reſident at the Durbar, he may depend on your concurrence in every meaſure that may tend to relieve the diſtreſs of the poor, in this time of dearth; and yet reject the only particular remedy pointed out, and recommended by him for that purpoſe; and on this occaſion, we muſt remark, that whatever other expedients might have been applied, none could, in our opinion, have operated more ſpeedily or effectually, than that

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ſuggeſted by Mr. Becher, as totally prohibiting all Eu[illegible] their private capacity, or their gomaſtahs, from dealing in rice during the ſcarcity of that article. But as part of the charge ſets forth that the ryots were compelled to ſell their rice to theſe monopolizing Europeans, we have reaſon to ſuſpect, that they could be no other than perſons of ſome rank in our ſervice; otherwiſe we apprehend, they would not have preſumed on having influence ſufficient to prevent an enquiry into their proceedings, in caſe they were hardy enough to attempt the oppreſſion of the natives, or to monopolize the neceſſaries of life; for though theſe practices are at all times unwarrantable and very deſtructive, they were rendered exceedingly ſo by the unhappy circumſtances of the provinces at that juncture.

We do therefore poſitively direct you to examine impartially the above charge, which we cannot ſuppoſe would have been made, if there had been no foundation at all for it; and we direct, that whoever may be found guilty of a conduct which appears to us ſo unworthy, be forthwith diſmiſſed from our ſervice, (or deprived of our protection if not in our ſervice) and ſent to Europe, as warning to all perſons not to contribute towards oppreſſing the poor, which we are determined never to permit whilſt in our power to prevent it, nor to ſpare the offenders, whenever we may be able to detect them.

The numberleſs complaints which you ſay you have received from the merchants at Calcutta, reſpecting the ſalt trade, and the pervanahs granted under the ſeal of Mahommed Reza Khawn, for a mo-

monopoly of the trade for three years, exhibit a ſcheme ſo contrary to our expectations, ſo oppoſite to our intentions, and ſo contradictory to our poſitive commands, that we can by no means approve your lenient conduct, either towards Mahommed Reza Khawn, or Tillac Ram; the latter of whom, under different zemindars, was, it ſeems, the man appointed to be the actual monopoliſt of that article. We are well perſuaded that Mahommed Reza Khawn could not be ſo eaſily impoſed upon as he pretends to have been, by perſons who are ſaid to have ſolicited the pervanahs. It is not at all probable, that he could believe the ſalt works were unoccupied, whilſt ſo many merchants were even clamorous for a ſhare in the trade. But ſuppoſing he had believed it, as he owns he was at that time in Calcutta, his plain duty was to have repreſented the matter directly to our governor and council, and not to have granted very extraordinary privileges to individuals, in direct contradiction to the company's orders, with which he was perfectly acquainted. But it appears to us very probable, that Mahommed Reza Khawn's undue influence had totally diſcouraged the merchants; and it is no wonder they became willing to receive back the money, when they could no longer indulge an expectation of obtaining any ſalt: but we obſerve, however, that they were as unable to recover their advances, as to proſecute their trade.

As Mahommed Reza Khawn had the expreſs orders of the company, and the regulations of the committee before him for his guidance; we are greatly aſtoniſhed that he ſhould preſume on ſuch frivolous pretences, to diſobey the one, and to totally

totally disregard the other; and it is impossible, after [illegible] him in such conduct, that we should any longer consider him as a proper object of that full confidence hitherto reposed in him. We have in this transaction the plainest proof of his secretly counteracting our positive commands; and we must conclude, that he will not scruple to repeat the same practices wherever self-interest and a favourable opportunity concur for that purpose.

It was highly unjust to condemn Mahommed Reza Khawn on this ground, because he could know no more of the company's orders than their ruling servants were pleased to entrust him with, who most probably were themselves parties concerned.

The diminution of the duties on salt is so very considerable, that we cannot but express our astonishment at your declared ignorance of the cause thereof; and although the result of your examination into the conduct of the Fouzdar of Hoogly, may in some degree, enable you to assign reasons for the great loss sustained by the company on this account; yet we cannot but be of opinion, that the pervanahs granted by Mahommed Reza Khawn for a monopoly, have so powerfully operated in reducing the revenue arising from salt, as to render it necessary for you to turn your enquiries to that quarter. The case is plain, and the deduction by no means forced. How it could be deemed so little worthy your notice, we are at a loss to conceive; or how you could advert to the fact of salt being monopolized under the express authority of Mahommed Reza Khawn, and not be aware of the consequence, namely, that he having presumed to

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tranſgreſs the company's commands, would alſo avail himſelf of his ſtation, and ſcreen [illegible] from paying duties, or compel them to compound with him for the ſame, to the damage of the company.

Solicitous as we are, that the inland trade in ſalt, beetle nut, and tobacco, ſhould be ſecured from the evils which would attend a monopoly of theſe articles, were the ſame carried on either by Europeans or natives, we cannot but be pleaſed to find that our intentions in this reſpect communicated in our orders, have been publiſhed by you. And as the inſtructions we tranſmitted to our commiſſioners will convince you how much we have at heart the abſolute freedom of this trade (ſubject only to ſuch duties as we are are aſſured will be far from diſtreſſing the inhabitants, that they will be ſenſible of the ſuperior benefits we are anxious they ſhould enjoy under the influence of our government,) we therefore deem it unneceſſary to repeat our orders on this ſubject, but we cannot forbear expreſſing our reſolution not to ſuffer the leaſt deviation from them, and ſhould you find that any of our ſervants or others under our protection ſhall have counteracted our intentions in reſpect to the general freedom of trade, you are forthwith to diſmiſs them the company's ſervice, or withdraw our protection from ſuch Europeans as are not in our ſervice. At the ſame time, we enjoin you to be attentive to the conduct of the natives concerned in ſuch trade, and to uſe every means in your power to ſuppreſs all combinations and undue practices, tending to enhance the prices of the ſeveral articles thereof.

As ſalt is ſo important an object of the inland trade, we are highly diſpleaſed at your having neglected to give us a regular annual account of the quantity made throughout the provinces, and the places where the ſame has been landed, conformable to our orders of the 20th November 1767. This therefore, we expect you to do in future: and we further require you to tranſmit to us ſuch an account for the ſeveral years which have paſſed ſince we ſignified our pleaſure in this reſpect, that we may be enabled to judge what duties may be levied on that article, without oppreſſing thoſe whom it is our aim, as well as deſire to relieve.

We have received information that Mahommed Reza Khawn in the very height of the famine, has been guilty of great oppreſſions; that he has been guilty of ſtopping the merchants boats, loaded with rice and other proviſions, intended for the ſupply of Murſhedabad, and has forcibly compelled the owners to ſell their rice to him rat the loweſt price, and re-ſold it afterwards at the higheſt rate, and all other eatables in proportion. And that although his conduct has operated in the deſtruction of many thouſands of people, yet it has been overlooked by thoſe in power, who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner ſo inhuman, and ſo very unworthy the ſtation which he fills, as Naim Dewan of the province of Bengal.

When we expected that the influence and protection of the company would have had ſuch happy effects throughout the provinces of Bengal, as would have been to us a conſiderable encreaſe in the revenues of the Dewannee, we cannot but be deeply affected to ſee ourſelves diſappointed in that rea-

ſonable expectation: and to experience ſuch a reverſe, as now appears by the great diminution of theſe revenues, particularly in the province of Bahar. Indeed, when we turn our view to the flouriſhing ſtate of Burdwan, and the increaſing revenue of that province under the immediate inſpection of our ſervants; we cannot but conclude, that the diminution of the dewannee revenues muſt have been owing to the miſconduct of thoſe who have had the ſuperintendency of the collections.

But, as we have further reaſons to ſuſpect, that large ſums have by violent and oppreſſive means, been actually collected by Mahommed Reza Khawn, on account of the dewannee revenues, great part of which he has appropriated to his own uſe, and diſtributed among the creatures of his power, and the inſtruments of his oppreſſions; we ſhould not think ourſelves juſtified to the company or the public, were we to leave him in future the management of the dewannee collections: and as the transferring the like truſt to any other miniſter could yield us little proſpect of reaping any benefit from the change, we are neceſſitated to ſeek by other means, the full advantage we have to expect from the grant of the dewannee. It is therefore our determination, to ſtand forth as dewan, and by the agency of the company's ſervants, to take upon ourſelves the entire care and management of the revenues. In confidence therefore of your abilities to plan and execute this important work, we hereby authorize and require you to diveſt Mahommed Reza Khawn and every perſon employed by, or in conjunction with him, or acting under his influence, of any further charge or direction in the buſineſs

neſs of the collections; and we truſt, that in the courſe of dewan you will adopt ſuch regulations and purſue ſuch meaſures, as ſhall at once inſure to us every poſſible advantage, and free the ryots from the oppreſſion of zemindars and petty tyrants, under which they may have been ſuffered to remain, from the intereſted views of thoſe whoſe influence and authority ſhould have been exerted for their relief and protection.

While we were in full expectation of reaping all the advantage we had in proſpect from the acquiſition of the Dawannee revenues, and which were become the more eſſential point from our compact with the public, for a participation of thoſe revenues, how greatly muſt we be alarmed at ſeeing the Dewannee collections ſcarce anſwering any other purpoſe than defraying the civil and military charges of our preſidency of Bengal. Indeed, nothing but the moſt unhappy experience could have led us to ſuppoſe that the amount of thoſe revenues would not have been ſufficient both for the charges of your preſidency, and ſupplying us with annual inveſtments equal to our engagements with the public; the expectations of the proprietors, the proviſion of imports, and every other demand to which the company is ſubjected. But what muſt be our ſurprize to find, that the collective amount of our revenues in Bengal, are ſo far from yielding us returns adequate to our indiſpenſible occaſions, that a conſiderable part of your conſignments of the preſent year has been purchaſed by intereſt notes, given for the amount, notwithſtanding you had received into your treaſury for draughts on the courts

courts of director, ſums equal to the whole of thoſe conſignments.

Whatever may have been the cauſes which have brought on ſuch effects, the conſequences are equally alarming to us; and as we learn from your late advices that the decreaſe of revenues, and the increaſe of charges, will not permit us to hope for a ſpeedy remedy for the evils with which we are threatened; we cannot but turn our view to the commiſſion which we have permitted to be drawn on your net territorial revenues; and ſhould we continue to experience, that your reſources are inadequate to the expectations we had formed of them, we ſhall find ourſelves under a neceſſity to withhold from our ſervants thoſe gratuities, rewards, &c. which we were induced to grant them, in the full and reaſonable hope that their care and attention would inſure to the company all the advantages expected from the poſſeſſion of the Dewannee.

The directors were kept in the dark by the company's ſervants, in regard to the acquiſitions made in the laſt war; maps of all the provinces were in the hands of lord Clive and governor Vanſitart, with a minute deſcription of all the powers who border on them, and an exact eſtimate of the product and value of the lands, whilſt the directors who had employed ſurveyors at a very great expence, could not get the ſame information.

Lord Clive did an eſſential ſervice to the company in curbing the ſpirit of conqueſt inconſiſtent with that permanency which is their object. It is evident, that his lordſhip in forming the treaty of 1765, conſidered Sujah al Dowlah as the proper barrier againſt the Morattas and the northern powers;

ces: and that his enemies might not take advantage of the weak ſtate to which our army had reduced him, a brigade was for ſome time ſtationed at Illahabad. When the term of the treaty was fulfilled, and Sujah al Dowlah had made ſome progreſs in recruiting his forces, lord Clive withdrew the brigade, leaving only one battalion at the requeſt of the king. This was in July 1766; but in October following the approach of Abdallah, and the earneſt ſolicitations of Sujah al Dowlah obliged the ſelect committee to order a brigade to be ſtationed again at Illahabad, intending however to withdraw it as ſoon as the apprehenſions of an invaſion ſhould ceaſe; and lord Clive in his letter to the ſelect committee of the 16th of January 1767, recommended the withdrawing it as ſoon as poſſible, leaving a detachment of only one battalion to quiet the fears which the vizier entertained even againſt the king himſelf, who had invited the Morattas to croſs the Narbuddah and join him, promiſing them our aſſiſtance in the execution of his favourite deſign of marching to Dehly. It is certain that the king, finding himſelf diſappointed in this ſcheme by our non-continuance, was upon the point of throwing himſelf into the hands of the Morattas, forgetful of his true intereſt, as well as of his obligations to the Engliſh. That deſign he has not, nor perhaps ever will totally relinquiſh; but whilſt he flatters himſelf with the hope of our aſſiſtance, and ſo long as he ſees the ſtrong ſupport we are able to give him, he will ever be forming ſchemes to embroil us in the politics of the country. To deprive the Bengal provinces of one intire brigade, merely to allay his fears, or to feed

his

his hopes, was a moſt pernicious conceſſion. Lord Clive's reaſonings upon the firſt ſtationing of a brigade at Illahabad, proved that that he was not to be duped by any ill founded alarms of the king or Sujah al Dowlah. The motive for continuing the brigade in that ſtation, was to watch the motions of the Morahtahs and other country powers: according to this principle, that the Engliſh are to maintain the character of umpires of Indoſtan. A principle that may involve the company in every war from Dehly to Cape Comrin. One invariable maxim ought ever to be retained, which is, that the company are to avoid taking part in the political ſchemes of any of the country princes. If Sujah al Dowlah's dominions ſhould ever be actually invaded, the company are bound by treaty to aſſiſt him: but as to any ambitious views of his, ſound policy ſhould engage them not to interfere in, or be anxious concerning the quarrels, defeats, or victories of any Indian power whatſoever; for the more they diſpute and fight with one another, the leſs will they be enabled or inclined to act offenſively againſt us.

Lord Clive ſtrongly recommended the neceſſary precaution of garriſoning Chunangur, by ſuffering Sujah at Dowlah to introduce troops ſufficient to have poſſeſſed himſelf of the place; the preſident and council of Bengal were guilty of a remiſſneſs, that in caſe of a rupture, might have been attended with very dangerous conſequences.

Lord Clive was ſenſible of the advantages of peace, on which alone the manufactures and revenues depend; and that no ſucceſs in war could poſſibly

possibly compensate the losses that would arise from the tranquility of the provinces being disturbed.

The instructions left by lord Clive in regard to the company's connexions with the king and Sujah al Dowlah, met with the general approbation of the court of directors.

His lordship's opinion in his letter to the select committee was, that to march any part of the company's army to escort the king to Dehly might bring on the total ruin of their affairs. In consequence of which the court of directors declared, that if any of their servants should be persuaded into so rash and dangerous a measure, they should then be responsible for all the consequences, and that they should be extremely jealous of every one high in their service, civil or military, who shew'd a tendency to such an expedition.

The forms established by lord Clive at the solemnity of the prince, were by order of the court of directors to be in future observed: and when the governor is not present, the resident at the durbar represents the king's dewan. They did not altogether agree with lord Clive in the necessity of the governor making an annual tour of the provinces. As the majesty and dignity of the government still resides in the nabob and his ministers: and they only are known to the inhabitants, as the power to whom they are accountable. Any great violence or oppression will most probably reach the ear of the resident at the durbar, who can immediately exercise his influence to get them redressed. But if the governor carries with him in his tour, the authority of the state, it gives the subject the idea of a divided government. If nevertheless

theleſs it is found neceſſary, the directors inſiſt that ſhould be made without oſtentation, or an expenſive parade.

Lord Clive declared he had in his cuſtody clear and certain proofs of ſeven lacks of rupees being paid to Coſſim Ally to the company's ſervants for making the Mongheer treaty: and his lordſhip having acknowledged that he was poſſeſſed of ſome informations upon that ſubject, the court of directors requeſted that he would tranſmit the ſame to them, together with all the papers in his poſſeſſion relating to the private negociations of ſome of the company's ſervants, at the time of the revolutions in favour of Coſſim aly Khawn; as alſo any other papers that may be in his cuſtody tending to ſet thoſe tranſactions in their true light. For as thoſe proofs came to his lordſhip's hands when he was in a public ſtation, they deemed them public papers, and as ſuch to be tranſmitted to them. They expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that lord Clive ſhould be in poſſeſſion of ſuch papers, and therefore ſuppoſed theſe examinations were taken privately, notwithſtanding the court of directors orders for a public enquiry were expreſs and poſitive.

This alludes to lord Clive's informations againſt the late Mr. Vanſitart. In juſtice to the memory of that gentleman, we cannot refrain from expreſſing the mode in which they were ſaid to have been obtained, by tranſcribing part of a letter which was written on the ſpot, and tranſmitted to Mr. Vanſitart upon that occaſion.

Extract

Extract of a letter from William Bolts, at Calcutta to Henry Vanſittart, Eſq; in London. Dated Calcutta the 31ſt March, 1767.

"Your banyan Ramchurn has deſired me to forward you the incloſed letter from him, and to inform you of lord Clive's endeavours to injure you. He ſays, that lord Clive frequently ſent for him and endeavoured by threats to force him to give a writing againſt you of whatever preſents you had received in Coſſim ally Khawn's time: that upon his refuſing at one time, his lordſhip ordered him to be carried away and confined by ſeapoys, which however was not done; his lordſhip upon a recollection thinking proper to countermand the order, that he was thus frequently ſent for and threatened, but that he perſiſted to the laſt in refuſing to anſwer his lordſhip's queſtions. That likewiſe lord Clive ſent for Cogee Petroſe and others for the ſame purpoſe, who were threatened, that if they did not give the required declarations, they ſhould be delivered over to Mahommed Reza Khawn: that oaths were tendered to them which they were forced to take, and upon theſe oaths ſome declarations were taken, which they were forced to ſign to.

Ramchurn further ſays, that by way of encouragement, lord Clive told him, "that he did not want to hurt Mr. Van, only he would make uſe of thoſe things at home in proportion as he found it neceſſary, ſhould Mr. Van make any ſtir againſt him: but Ramchurn ſays, "he is confident from what he has ſeen and heard here, that lord Clive

will only endeavour to amuſe you till he has ſerved his own purpoſe and ſtrengthened his own party, having with that intention carried home every thing he could parcel up againſt you."

Lord Clive's ſyſtem of government was to be upported by Mr. Verelſt, his deſigned ſucceſſor, and his ſelect committee, which conſiſted of his lordſhip's friends and creatures. He had given them his final inſtructions before his departure for England, which they engaged to follow implicitly, with mutual aſſurances of inviolable friendſhip and ſecrecy, on tranſactions they wiſhed to hide from the knowledge of the world.

Indeed Mr. Verelſt had been for ſome time the oſtenſible director of public meaſures in the preſidency of Bengal; lord Clive had been ſo indiſpoſed in body and mind, that he had not been able to do or hear of any buſineſs. He ſaw nobody, and nobody ſaw him. All the blandiſhments of fortune, and the flattering honours of Eaſtern pageantry, could not give him that peace of mind, which is the attendant of a guiltleſs conſcience and moderation. He was become ſullen, taciturn and frighted at the ſight of a red coat. One captain of an Eaſt India ſhip who had lived formerly with his lordſhip, with a ſort of intimacy, having urged admittance to the noble governor's apartments, previous to his voyage to Europe, when admitted into his preſence found him laying on a ſopha with all the ſymptoms of wretchedneſs and deſpondency; till at laſt awakened from that melancholy with ſome marks of terror, he diſmiſſed the captain, after a few unconnected words and an abrupt apology.

On

On the 25th of January 1767, his lordſhip embarked for England on board the Britannia, having it is ſuppoſed, by all the ways and means his lordſhip had deviſed, during his ſhort adminiſtration, added to his former fortune the enormous ſum of twelve hundred thouſand pounds in caſh, diamonds, Eaſt-India bonds, &c. notwithſtanding his repeated declarations, that he would not add a ſingle ſhilling to the appointments fixed by the court of directors for the ſupport of his ſtation and dignity. After he had been a few days on board he became ſerene and more communicative. His imagination diverted by the pleaſing ideas of the ſplendid figure he would make in his native country at his return, with an immenſe wealth, the acquiſition of which he thought, would never be ſcrutinized, diſpelled for a time all the clouds of remorſe and anxiety. On his arrival in London, his party in the direction had the influence to procure to his lordſhip the general thanks of the court, for the great ſervices he had done to the company, in their new-conquered dominions in Bengal; and though many proprietors were pretty well informed of the pernicious maxims of government his lordſhip had followed, the worſe tranſactions and the fatal conſequences which they were produce, were not yet generally known.

His lordſhip's agents and emiſſaries had been during his abſence been remarkably active, in ſecuring boroughs for his relations, friends and dependents againſt the general election. As nothing but a great loaded intereſt, could give him that weight and influence to which he aſpired; he had given directions to purchaſe from the needy nobility and gentry,

gentry, all the eſtates conducive to his grand object of parliamentary intereſt, or agreeable to his loſty notions of ſtately grandeur.

Claremont that delightful ſeat of the duke of Nemcaſtle, that reſpectable old nobleman, who had ſpent a princely fortune in the ſervice of three ſovereigns, attracted lord Clive's attention, and ſtimulated his vanity. That hoſpitable manſion, where many ſovereign princes and illuſtrious perſonages had been entertained with equal profuſion and magnificence, by the noble owner whilſt he filled the firſt poſts in the adminiſtration, was afterwards deemed too mean for lord Clive and his retinue. The purchaſe of the reverſion of this villa was for a time kept a ſecret, and when this elegant fabric was pulled down, the modern houſe deſtined for the reception of the p—— of the Eaſt, exhibited more oſtentation than true taſte and ſplendor.

Lord Clive had during his late arbitrary government in Bengal given offence to ſo many gentlemen in civil and military capacities in India, either diſmiſſed the company's ſervice, or ſoliciting in England for that juſtice, which they could not obtain at ſuch a diſtance from the ſeat of laws and equity; that his lordſhip was more than once threatened to be called to an account for his unwarrantable proceedings, by the perſons injured. It is known, that he was obliged once to diſguiſe himſelf three times in one day, to avoid the reſearches of ſome of his adverſaries. In the mean time the late Mr. Vanſitart, whoſe adminiſtration lord Clive had on all occaſions illiberally vilified, was determined in juſtice to himſelf, and out of a

proper

proper reſentment for his lordſhip's ungenerous attacks, to make him odious and deſpicable to the impartial world. Theſe apprehenſions, joined to the precarious ſtate of his health, engaged the noble lord, to go to France early in the ſpring of the year 1768, to avoid diſagreeable explanations, and to re-eſtabliſh his impaired conſtitution. The French who were well-informed of his lordſhip's immenſe fortune, with all the outward complaiſance and politeneſs made his lordſhip pay an enormous price from Calais to Paris, notwithſtanding the great expedition he made, for every indiſpenſible article which he wanted upon the road. No ſovereign at his arrival in Paris had ever a more numerous attendance, of taylors, hair-dreſſers, ſhoe-makers, valets-de-louage, &c. than his lordſhip; one ſhould have thought that his lordſhip could employ moſt manufacturers and tradeſmen of this capital. Notwithſtanding lord Clive for ſeveral days did not appear in public, many gentlemen and ladies rode in their carriages near his hotel with the hopes of having a ſight of this extraordinary man. Several French officers who had ſerved in the late war in India, and ſome who by his lordſhip's power, had been removed from their eſtabliſhment in the Mogul and Sujah al Dowlah's dominions cauſed to be fixed upon the walls of his hotel divers paſquinades, ſeverely reflecting upon his military conduct, his monopolies and depredations. A certain Abbe Mauger, who had been chaplain to Monſieur Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, had found means to inſinuate himſelf into his lordſhip's favour and confidence. He acted in the double capacity of Major-Domo and *intendant*

des

des menus plaiſirs de Mylord. He had, *carte-blanche* to write all the love-letters of his noble paſion, and to form his ſeraglio compoſed of *les plus jolies qui ſoient* and a few ladies of quality who ſerved as volunteers. But the reigning ſultaneſs was *la petite Dupas, marchande de modes, rue St. Honore*, a young ſprightly widow, who thought no man would ſet a higher value upon her charms than his lordſhip. She vowed to him *un amour eternel et une fidelite a toute epreuve*, though ſhe was too reaſonable to object to his lordſhip's taſte for variety, and was glad to hear he indulged himſelf in tranſitory amours during his abſence. Her object was not, as the reader may eaſily imagine, his perſon, but ſhe flattered herſelf to obtain a ſettlement of five hundred louis d'ors for her occaſional ſervices. The abbe was in the ſecret with a young mouſquetaire who was to appear in the character of Madame Dupas's brother, but was *lami du eveur* and her champion.

About ſix weeks were elapſed ſince the beginning of lord Clive's intercourſe with *la petite* Dupas, during which ſhe had received ſeveral of theſe little preſents *qui entretiennent l'amitie*, but are by no means adequate to a ſentimental lady's favours. Lord Clive propoſed to leave Paris in a week's time, and to remove to the ſouth of France: Madame Dupas invited her noble paramour to a *petit-ſouper* at her houſe, before their cruel ſeparation. The abbe was to be of the party, and madame Dupas had alſo invited her lover, whom ſhe intended to preſent to his lordſhip as her brother. He was moſt graciouſly received by my lord, though he harboured ſome ſuſpicions of the deceit.

Madame

Madame Dupas did the honours of the table with all the graces imaginable, and tried to amuſe her noble gueſt with all theſe *petits riens* which the French women have at command. At the deſert madame Dupas, *a propos des galanteries de la cour et de la ville*, introduced artfully ſeveral ladies of her acquaintance, who had opulent lovers, ſuch as *mylords Anglois* and Farmers-General, whoſe generoſity ſhe highly commended, for having made on their miſtreſſes handſome ſettlements. Indeed, added ſhe, it is a duty incumbent on any man of honour, who has it in his power; and though I heartily deſpiſe a woman who makes a traffic of her charms, a perſon of character who beſtows upon a man what is moſt dear to her cannot be too well provided for. As for my part, diſintereſted as I am, I ſhould never have granted any favours, even to the only man I love (looking tenderly at lord Clive) if I had not a moral certainty of his laſting gratitude. The abbe, who had raiſed ſeveral contributions upon his lordſhip, and thought he had little more to expect from him, ſupported the argument of madame Dupas, with all the ſophiſtry he was capable of. Lord Clive perceived the whole drift, eſpecially when Monſieur le Mouſquetaire concluded the ſubject, by ſaying that if any man of a rank ever ſo exalted, refuſed to make a proper ſettlement upon his ſiſter, after an intimacy with her, he would obtain it, if not by law, by the ſword. Lord Clive prudently ſeemed to coincide with their opinion, and deſiring politely *de ne deranger perſonne*, went home in his carriage, which was waiting for him. The next day

day he left Paris, *donnant a touts les diables là petite Dupas, l'abbe, et le Mouſquetaire.*

He proceeded to Montpellier through Fontainbleau, and though this royal reſidence was at that time of the year dull and ſolitary, the noble traveller found in that venerable fabric and its foreſt an analogy with his gloomy ideas. The court of France reſorts there only once a year; in autumn, and the late king uſed to indulge in that ſeaſon his taſte for his favourite diverſion of ſtag hunting. Lord Clive thought this time a favourable opportunity for ſeeing every thing worth his notice, without ceremonial and difficulty, when none but inferior officers of the palace dwelt in it. He had cautioned his ſervants not to reveal to any ſoul living, who he was; but the preying curioſity and interrogatories of the French conquered the ſcruples of his valet-de-chambre, who told Mr. Buſſy's *maitre d'hotel*, who his maſter was. He had no ſooner heard the name of Clive than he poſted to the French nabob, who had a country ſeat in the neighbourhood, to acquaint him with this piece of intelligence. The immenſe wealth which Monſieur de Buſſy had acquired and ſecured by an alliance with a niece of the duke of Choiſeuil, made him a man of the firſt conſequence in the kingdom. His long reſidence in India, and the correſpondence he had kept ſince he had left it with natives and Europeans, in the French ſettlements, had made him acquainted with all the circumſtances of lord Clive's fortune and elevation. Curioſity prompted him to pay a viſit to a man, who was held in the ſame predicament as himſelf in the Britiſh dominions. He came

came to Fontainbleau with a ſmall retinue, whilſt lord Clive was at dinner. He waited till the deſert was carried up, when he ſent to his lordſhip his compliments, deſiring leave to wait upon him. Though it was obſerved that this unexpected viſit was not agreeable to his lordſhip, Mr. de Buſſy was immediately admitted. He made an apology for interrupting lord Clive at that unſeaſonable hour, and invited him to his houſe; which his lordſhip declined. However, M. de Buſſy ſpent ſeveral hours with him, and if the Frenchman's account of their converſation is to be credited, it was in ſubſtance as follows:

"Buſſy who was the declared enemy of Monſieur de Lally, attributed the unſucceſsful attempt againſt Madraſs; the loſs of Pondicherry, and the total expulſion of the French from the provinces of Bengal, to that unfortunate general's miſconduct, avarice and obſtinacy. Lord Clive replied, that he looked upon Lally as a brave and experienced officer, whom he thought deſerved a better fate; that he was not perhaps a proper man for the firſt command of the French forces in India, as really the event had ſhewn, that ever ſince he had aſſumed it, excepted a few encounters where the French had the advantage, their affairs went on the decline on the peninſula of Indus after they had loſt their chief emporium, by Mr. Lally's ill luck, or want of judgment. But, continued his lordſhip, it would be ungenerous to lay to his charge, all your errors and diſappointments in Indoſtan. Mr. Dupleix's craft and policy had given to the French a great aſcendency over the country powers, whom he began to divide. In order to rule over them,

you forced us to counterbalance the arts of French fineſſe, (allow me the expreſſion) by an army more formidable than either you, or us, had ever ſent into India. In this mutual ſtruggle for the empire of the Eaſt, we were more fortunate than you; and as rivals in arms, we thought our victories inadequate to our expectations, if we did not prevent your future ſettlements in the Bengal provinces.

As for making and depoſing nabobs, which is the grand field of impeachment of my enemies; you know, ſir, that Mr. Dupleix had for the firſt example, your principal officers as well as ours have received preſents from the country powers; if the laſt time I had the honour to command in Bengal, I put a ſtop to this prevalent cuſtom, it was becauſe divers officers of inferior rank in the army, claimed the ſame favours as veterans; and I know an officer who has his fortune to make, will fight better, than he, who has acquired one beyond his ſanguine wiſhes." "But pray," ſaid Mr. de Buſſy, "you cannot flatter yourſelves to remain the abſolute rulers of Indoſtan; all the Eueopeans ſettled in thoſe parts know, that the nabob's are mere cyphers, even the Mogul himſelf, are the mere tools of your uncontrolled power and dominion. It is not from the Aſiatic princes that I expect a revolution, but from us, the Dutch and the Danes, eſpecially if the Engliſh government leave your Eaſt India company in poſſeſſion of immenſe acquiſitions, that they will not be able to preſerve or enjoy. As for us, the trade to the Eaſt Indies is free and open; it is become a national concern, a fine field for adventurers, who may ſome day be powerfully ſupported by an army ſufficient

ficient to aſſiſt the country princes, in recovering their independance and their territories. Believe, my lord, we have not given up India, our claims lay dormant at preſent, and we ſhall lay them, when we can aſſert them with the ſword. You will confeſs with me, that we owe our ſettlements to the credulity of ſhort-ſighted ſovereigns, our acquiſitions to their jealouſies and puſilanimity; and no doubt, that the firſt war betwixt you and us, will originate in a country from which ſuch wealth did flow, to mercantile ſocieties. What I am amazed at," added Mr. Buſſy, "is that no enterprizing man at the head of a victorious army, has attempted to make himſelf a ſovereign. I ſuppoſe the little reliance one can have on the natives, has deterred thoſe who might have aimed at ſupreme power, from the undertaking. I acquired ſome reputation in India, and acquired thither a great fortune; but you, my lord, have eclipſed in both all the Europeans, who have ſearched for both in thoſe remote climates."

After this converſation, lord Clive declared to Monſieur de Buſſy, that his intention was to travel incog. and though he was exceſſively happy in the honour he had done him, he had ordered his ſervants to make him paſs for a private gentleman. "I like this abode," added he, "but now that I am known, I ſhall ſet out to-morrow and continue my journey to the South of France. Monſieur de Buſſy having in vain repeated his invitation, accompanied lord Clive into the royal palace; they walked into the apartments arm in arm, with the moſt ſeeming freedom and cordiality. Lord Clive having expreſſed a partiality for this royal manſion.

Was

"Was not our king," ſaid Monſ. de Buſſy, "ſo much attached to it, I think he might have found a purchaſer in you." "No," anſwered lord Clive, "you and me may perhaps be able to purchaſe the palace and the foreſt." Monſieur de Buſſy having accompanied lord Clive to the inn, took leave of his lordſhip, with all the aſſurances of eſteem and regard, which the French are ſo profuſe of; and lord Clive the next morning ſet out for Montergis, where he had an opportunity to admire the taſte and magnificence of Lewis XIV. and the ſight of the canal, which is one of the moſt ſtupenduous works of this monarch's reign.

From thence his lordſhip went to Orleans, and when he was taking a ſurvey of that ancient city; a French ſoldier, named Jolly, who had been made a priſoner at Arcot, with a detachment of the regiment of Lorrain, knew him again, and ſaluted him, when on duty. Lord Clive expreſſing his ſurprize, the ſoldier ſaid, I remember you very well, my general, ever ſince the ſiege of Arcot. On this explanation, lord Clive came near him, and recollected this man, whom he had employed as his *friſeur*, and to keep him in the practice of the French language, whilſt he was a priſoner. Ah! ſaid my lord, I am glad to ſee you, Jolly; ſtill a ſoldier! come to ſee me *a l'ecu de France*, when you are relieved; we ſhall talk over our old campaigns. The grenadier overjoyed to be taken notice of by his old maſter, promiſed to wait on his lordſhip. Effectively he came *bien poudre* to the inn mentioned, and begged to be introduced to general Clive, by his lordſhip's particular deſire. My lord who, had ſeen him from a window, at which he

he was amuſing himſelf, ordered his ſervant to come into his apartment. I am glad to ſee you, Jolly, ſaid he. And I too, anſwered the ſoldier, my general. "Have you always continued in the army and in the ſame regiment, ſince you was in India? Yes, my general. Now that you are old, cannot you obtain your diſcharge, or the invalids? Neither, my general, becauſe I am ſtill healthy and vigorous, and never was wounded in any action." Should you like to have your diſcharge? Yes, my general. How much do you think it would coſt you? Not above ten louis d'ors; but it is more than all my relations are worth. What would you do, and how could you ſubſiſt if you was out of the army? By ſhaving and dreſſing hair. Do you follow yet this trade? Yes, my general. Do you ſave money by it? No, becauſe I was never a ſtingy fellow, and I make now and then my comrades drunk at my expence. Have you a good character in your regiment? I believe no body better. Where has been your regiment ſince I ſaw you? At Quebec, in Germany, at Belleiſle, and divers garriſons in the kingdom. I wonder as you can read and write that you never was promoted to the rank of a ſerjeant? I refuſed it, my ambition aſpired never higher than the poſt of honour, a grenadier. Are you married? Yes. How many children? Two. Are they provided for? Yes, very well by the king; they are both ſoldiers. What is the name of your colonel? The marquis de Soulanges. Is he here now?" Yes. Do you ſuppoſe if I was to offer him ſome reaſonable conſideration for your diſcharge, that he would grant it? Yes, if you was to tell him you would take it as a favour, and offer

to

to pay ſome money to enliſt a man in my place. Well, concluded his lordſhip, ſtay here at ſupper, and wait upon me at table. He did remain according to his lordſhip's injunction, and ſtood during the ſupper behind lord Clive's chair, who now and then aſked him queſtions about ſome of the French officers who were taken priſoners at Arcot. The next morning, lord Clive in perſon waited upon the marquis de Soulanges, made himſelf known, told the marquis the motive of his viſit and obtained Jolly's diſcharge; on condition he ſhould get a young fellow in his place. Indeed, added the marquis, nothing but your lordſhip's application could have prevailed upon me to part with him, for the king has not a better ſoldier in the army. Lord Clive related to the marquis, that he had known him ever ſince the ſiege of Arcot, where he was taken a priſoner, and that he had ſerved him during that time with zeal and fidelity. The marquis only granted lord Clive's requeſt, on another condition, that he ſhould do him the honour to dine with him, which invitation his lordſhip could not decline. When he returned to the inn, he ſent for Jolly, and acquainted him that he was free on condition of finding another young man in his place. Jolly having expreſſed his moſt ſincere thanks to his noble benefactor, went immediately in ſearch of a recruit, and in leſs than two hours time returned to his lordſhip, who gave him three louis d'ors which he had promiſed to the recruit, and three for himſelf. After this was ſettled to the great and unexpected ſatisfaction of Jolly. "Well," ſaid lord Clive, "what will you do now? Go to Niſmes, anſwered Jolly, my native place, and ſettle

ſettle there in my trade." Every thing, "replied his lordſhip, is lucky for you; I am going to Montpellier, which is not above a day's journey from Niſmes, and you may ſave yourſelf the trouble and expences of a long march, in coming with my ſervants. Jolly was overjoyed at this new inſtance of his lordſhip's generoſity; only when he ſaid he ſhould order a ſuit of cloaths for him, Jolly begged earneſtly it might not be his livery, as he was reſolved never to wear any other after that of the king. Lord Clive could not help ſmiling at this inſtance of French pride; but yet he thought it commendable, as it proceeded from a ſentiment of honour. His lordſhip was magnificently entertained, by the marquis Soulanges, with ſome officers of his regiment: one of them who had ſerved in India reflected ſeverely on the Engliſh company's ſervants, for their inſatiable thirſt after riches, and the ignominious ſubjection in which they kept the natives. Lord Clive allowed the firſt charge to be true, in regard to ſeveral individuals; as for the ſecond imputation, he ſaid that nothing but the fear of their power could inforce the ſubordination of millions, and anſwered every indirect attack upon him with judgment and good humour.

The next day, his lordſhip departed for Blois, and appointed Jolly, who knew all the towns on the road to the ſouth of France, his conductor, in every place that deſerved his attention. He had been equipped cap-a-pie by his lordſhip, and made now a decent appearance. He had been often ſent with meſſages from his colonel to the abbey of the benedictine nuns at Bourges, where the marquis had a ſiſter, and praiſed ſo much

ſome

ſome ingenious works of theſe ladies which he had ſeen, that he perſuaded lord Clive, in walking near their convent, to go in and ſatisfy his curioſity. The fellow announced his maſter the richeſt ſubject in Europe; nuns and penſioners vied with each other in exhibiting to his lordſhip's view all the products of their induſtry. Lord Clive was ſmitten at the firſt ſight with the beauty, wit and engaging manners of a young nun, called Madame de Rochechouart, of one of the moſt illuſtrious families in France, and in the rapturous ſtile of an admirer, declared the ſudden impreſſion, which her irreſiſtible charms had made on his heart. Not to appear particular, he purchaſed from her and other nuns, divers nick-nacks to the value of five louis d'ors. The young lady who had indulged her amorous propenſity, like many of thoſe ſprightly recluſes, by reading plays and novels calculated to juſtify *les egaremens du cœur*, ſeemed flattered with lord Clive's diſtinction, and as ſhe lived with the abbeſs in the greateſt intimacy, ſhe diſpenſed often from the rules and religious exerciſes of the convent. The other nuns having been called for their ſupper to the refactory, Madame Rochechouart remained with the noble ſtranger, that ſhe might know his ſentiments and take her meaſures accordingly. Thoſe who have converſed with nuns abroad, have had an opportunity to obſerve, that many convents like this, which are compoſed of ladies of quality, whoſe inſtitutes are adapted to perſons nurtured at home with care and tenderneſs, are in fact ſeminaries of love, and that the conqueſt of theſe ladies ſequeſtered from the world, is more eaſy than the ſeduction of thoſe who

who live in it. Madame de Rochechouart offered to his lordſhip ſome refreſhments, which he was eaſily prevailed to accept. He confeſſed to her candidly, that his intention before he had the happineſs of ſeeing her, was to remain at Blois not above a day or two, but now he could not ſay how long he might continue there, ſince he was wholly devoted to her commands. With the preliminaries, ſome kiſſes were exchanged, and a ring of his lordſhip was the firſt pledge of his affection. I hope, ſaid the lady, before they parted, to have the pleaſure to ſee you to-morrow in the afternoon at this fatal grate, when perhaps I ſhall have contrived ſome means to meet you with more ſatisfaction to us both. In the mean time, ſend your ſervant to me to-morrow morning, for reaſons which you will know afterwards. As this firſt viſit had been already too long, ſhe begged his lordſhip would not take it ill if ſhe was to withdraw, which they did both with great reluctance. "As ſoon as he went home, he aſked Jolly if he had mentioned his name in the convent; no, anſwered he, I only ſaid that you was a gentleman of an immenſe fortune: you might have omitted this circumſtance, replied my lord, ſomewhat diſpleaſed, and for the future I bid you, to be more prudent and circumſpect, otherwiſe I cannot entruſt you with my meſſages and my commiſſions. Jolly promiſed on the word of a ſoldier to be faithful, and to preſerve an inviolable ſecrecy in any thing that his maſter would be pleaſed to commit to his charge."

The next morning, his lordſhip diſpatched Jolly to the convent with a *billet deux*, having cautioned him before he went to tell the lady his name was

colonel Robert, in caſe ſhe ſhould inquire about it. He brought back a love-letter from his lordſhip's charmer, and entered on his office with all the diſcretion required. Lord Clive waited on the lady in the afternoon according to agreement, and as his frequent viſits to the grate might have expoſed her to cenſure and reprimand, without accompliſhing the mutual object of their deſires, ſhe gave him the key of a door which opened into the encloſure of the convent, for the convenieney of the gardener, with injunction to take a ſurvey of the place by day time. The convent being ſeated in the ſuburbs of Blois, the lovers were leſs apprehenſive of interruption or diſcovery. The time appointed was ten o'clock that very evening, when his lordſhip reſorted to the place of rendezvous, and found the lovely captive waiting for him near the door in the utmoſt agitation of fear and love. The two lovers indulged themſelves in the raptures of ſtolen embraces, till two o'clock in the morning, when it was thought adviſeable for his lordſhip to retire. Theſe nocturnal viſits were repeated ſeveral times, without inconveniency to both parties; the lady had urged ſeveral times, with all the powers of eloquence and love, her reſolution to elope from the hateful convent, and to accompany her dear paramour to England; but all to no purpoſe, his deſires were cloyed with enjoyment, and he was too ſenſible of the conſequences of ſuch an action to be acceſſary to it. However, he did not poſitively deny her requeſt, and left her ſtill ſome room for hope, whilſt he intended to take a French leave from his dulcinea. The devil would have it, that the very laſt night he viſited her,

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an abbe, who probably was ſantering about the walls on the ſame errant, ſaw unperceived at a diſtance his lordſhip going out of the ſacred door, which he locked after him. He took no immediate notice, but followed the gentleman unknown, within ſome yards of the inn where he lodged. Having ſo far ſatisfied his curioſity, he reſolved to improve this diſcovery to his advantage. About ten o'clock in the morning, he inquired whether there was not an Engliſh gentleman who lodged in that inn, whom he recollected to have ſeen before. He was anſwered in the affirmative; "May I ſpeak to him," continued he? He is not up yet, replied Jolly, and it is uncertain what time he will riſe, as he went to bed very late. If you have any meſſage for him, continued Jolly, I ſhall deliver it. No, no, anſwered the abbe, I ſhall come back in about two hours time. In the mean while, the Abbe went to the convent, where he had ſeveral acquaintances, to try whether he could get ſome intelligence to his purpoſe. He mentioned before ſome young nuns, that he had been in company late, and that he had taken a walk early in the morning around their walls, obſerving at the ſame time, if the countenance of any of them ſhould betray them: but he could not diſtinguiſh any ſigns of guilt or conſciouſneſs. "Pray," added he, "how does Madame Rochechouart do?" I am afraid, anſwered one of them, that ſhe is not well; for ſome days paſt ſhe has not been at church in the morning; and I believe ſhe is not up yet. The abbe immediately ſuſpected her to be the perſon; without however intimating his thoughts, in going out of the parlour

lour, he ſaw Jolly, and heard him enquire from the maid at the turning-box, if he could ſpeak to Madame de Rochechouart.

The inquiſitive abbe, with this new corroboration of his conjectures, went directly to the *Mylord Anglois's hotel*, and deſired one of his lordſhip's ſervants who was in the paſſage, to tell his maſter, a gentleman wanted to ſpeak to him. Lord Clive ordered his man to aſk Monſieur L'Abbi his name and his buſineſs; my name replied the abbe is Dupont, as for my buſineſs *c'eſt une cutra affairs*, I cannot tell, but to your maſter himſelf, the ſubject of my viſit; after ſome heſitation he was admitted, and my lord having pointed out a ſeat to him, he made a ſhort apology for his viſit and the cauſe of it.

" *Monſieur par le Francois ſans doute*" ſaid the abbe, " *Oui Monſieur*," anſwered Lord Clive, *qu'y a til a votre ſervice?*" As the majority of our readers, may not be converſant with the French language, we ſhall give an exact tranſlation of this intereſting dialogue.

" My character," reſumed the abbe, " and the " peace which happily exiſts between France and " England, indicate no hoſtile intentions, I come " here, to ſign a private treaty with you, to which " I dare ſay, you will readily accede, when you " know we ſhall both find our account in the ami- " cal tranſactions I am going to propoſe.

" My lord, with equal ſurprize and eagerneſs," declared he could not gueſs his meaning, and begged he would explain himſelf, as his introduction was a miſtery to him.

" To

"To come to the point," ſaid the abbe, "What will perhaps ſtill increaſe your aſtoniſhment, I am not ignorant of your connection with Madame de Rochechouart, which is the motive of your reſidence in this place; nor of the means you have in your power to get acceſs to her in the night." On this lord Clive, interrupting him, ſaid with ſome marks of diſpleaſure, "This is very extraordinary! a fine ſtory indeed! What right have you, Monſieur l'Abbe to call me to an account, whilſt I do not infringe the laws of this kingdom? I think it impertinent for any man to interfere with my conduct; beſides, I neither do know the perſon you mention, nor care for your imputations."

L'Abbe. As I intend to bring this negociation to a happy iſſue, with coolneſs and moderation, I ſhall be neither provoked nor offended at the harſh expreſſions you may make uſe of. I maintain what I have ſaid to be true; my deſign is not to injure, or to hurt you. But I muſt tell you, that by the laws of this kingdom, the ſeduction of a nun, and a clandeſtine admiſſion within the walls of a female ſanctuary, are highly puniſhable. I do not mention the cenſures of the church, which I dare ſay you laught at, though in this caſe they are to be dreaded, as penal and diſgraceful. The character of an informer I abhor, I do not pretend to more ſanctity than my neighbours, I love women as you do, and have, like you, taſted before now the forbidden fruit. This ſecret will die in my breaſt, if you will lend me for a day or two the key of this terreſtrial paradiſe, that I may procure another for the ſame myſterious enjoyments: and

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as I ſuppoſe you will not probably continue here long, let me be the comforter of Madame de Rochechouart after your departure; ſhe ſhall never know from me that I am apprized of your intrigue with her; if I ingratiate myſelf into her favour, it will be by my aſſiduity and attention.

Lord Clive. Pray, ſir, how did you get this information?

L'Abbe. I ſaw you this morning going out of this Eden, and I know Madame de Rochechouart to be the object.

Lord Clive. Has ſhe had any gallantries that gave occaſion to your ſuſpicions?

L'Abbe. What I know, is, that ſhe has been ſacrificed by unnatural parents, and her paſſions are too ſtrong to admit of ſcruples in gratifying them, provided the aſſailant acts with proper ſpirit and perſeverance; the Abbe afterwards confeſſed how he had found out that it was Madame de Rochechouart, and lord Clive, delivered the key as the firſt preliminary, on condition that Monſier L'abbe ſhould return it in twenty four hours: that he ſhould not mention this adventure and not enter the gate, till my lord had left the place. Lord Clive invited the Abbe, who was an excellent companion, to dine with him; and his lordſhip having found means to have the key conveyed into Madame de Rochechouart's hands, continued his journey. This unfortunate victim of parental ſeverity, died a few months after. As for the abbe, had he kept the ſecret, this affair, with the circumſtances, I have related, could not have tranſpired in the city of Blois, where it is pretty well known.

From

From Blois, his lordſhip went to Tours, where Jolly preſented to him a capuchin friar, who had reſided at Pondicherry ſeveral years. He was a man of great ſenſe, knowledge, and humour. As he had been Mr. Dupleix's confident, he was acquainted with many ſecret tranſactions of the French Eaſt India company, ſeveral intereſting particulars of which he related to lord Clive. His lordſhip having aſked him, if he never was in the provinces of Bengal, the friar anſwered, that he was at Chundagore when the fortunate captain Clive took it; the attack was ſucceſsful, ſaid he, becauſe the defence was inglorious. How do you like Indoſtan? a capuchin friar, anſwered he, is a coſmopolyte, he is ſure to get in all the countries in the world, food and raiment. Indeed, the peninſula within the Ganges was one of the moſt fruitful regions of the univerſe, before the ſervants of the Engliſh company, impriſoned, depoſed, and murdered nabobs, ruined the inhabitants, and by their monopoly and extortions, diverted to themſelves all the treaſures of the Mogul and his vaſſals; witneſs Clive, and ſome other commanders of their forces. The noble lord did not chuſe to aſk him more queſtions, and when the friar took leave of his lordſhip, he offered him two guineas, which the capuchin refuſed, alledging that it was againſt their ſtatutes. "Well, ſaid lord Clive, ſmiling, I think it would be a good policy in the Engliſh Eaſt-India company, to employ no other ſervants in their territories, but capuchin friars, as they could not accept preſents from the country powers."

Having tarried two days at Tours, he went to Bourgis where he received great honours from the in-

intendant of the province, for whom he had a letter of recommendation. During three days he regaled his noble gueſt with equal profuſion and magnificence: it was at a ball given on his account, that Madame de Jonſac, with whom he danced a minuet, ſeemed to him a propitious deity. Her husband was then at Paris, and if he had been at home *qu imparte*; though ſhe was a lady of a certain age, ſhe had ſtill charms ſufficient to inſpire *un gout paſſager*, and ſenſe enough not to require conſtancy. Lord Clive had ſoon with her *une affairie arrangee* and after an intimacy of three days, they became heartily tired of each other. They parted *comme des perſonnes raiſonables*, without regret or reproach. His lordſhip ſpent a few days at Nevais, pleaſed with the ſituation and the civility of ſome of the inhabitants, which he admitted to his table, he went there regularly to the play, for the ſake of Madame du Frenvis, a French actreſs, who, with ſome talent for the theatre, a fine figure, *a je ne ſcais quois*, had raiſed ſeveral contributions upon the Engliſh. Lord Clive, who had been previouſly acquainted with her mercenary diſpoſition, made her at once a preſent of fifty louis d'ors, to have her at command in a *petit ſouper tete-a-tete*, and ſometimes all night, when her good husband knew it was by particular deſire of his lordſhip. She was inconſolable when her dear lord went away. At Moulons, lord Clive made acquaintance with a *jolei petite couteliere*, to whom he payed an extraordinary price for the knives and ſciſſars he bought at her ſhop. Indeed, ſhe gave his lordſhip a great proof of love and diſintereſtedneſs, in propoſing to leave all her concerns, and to follow him.

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Though lord Clive was naturally temperate, he was fond of good Burgundy, and during his reſidence at Macon, he had the beſt that the territory produced. It is very remarkable, that the noble lord, who was reſerved, lofty, and penſive at home, was in France, gay, open, and converſable. A French gentleman having been informed that he was provided with the beſt wine of that diſtrict, ſent his compliments to him, and begged, as the Engliſh engroſſed all the beſt wines in the province, the honour to dine at his table. My lord having enquired who this gentleman was, and heard that he was a man of faſhion and fortune; anſwered that he thought himſelf exceſſively happy to have good Burgundy, as he flattered himſelf he would honour him with his company at dinner the next day, and as often as he pleaſed afterwards. This gentleman, whoſe name was Monſieur de Couches, was a truly well-bred man, free and facetious. My lord received him with great politeneſs and good-nature, and paid him the compliment to ſay, he ſhould ſtay at Macon longer than he intended, on his account. Whenever lord Clive went to dine at his houſe, as Monſieur de Couches had tried in vain to procure for his gueſt wine of the ſame quality, they agreed, that without farther trouble, his lordſhip ſhould ſend to Monſieur de Couches a dozen of his. The wine merchant from whom his lordſhip had got it, ſerved none but Engliſh people, and begged his name ſhould not be mentioned.

From Macon, lord Clive went to Geneva, where he intended to place his ſon, as he did afterwards; he thought this academy might well anſwer the

purpoſe of a ſtudent; but ill calculated for a man of pleaſure and gallantry.

Having viſited the wretched capital of Savoy, inhabited by a beggarly nobility, he went to Lyon, that opulent city, the rich manufactories of which are ſtill unrivalled in Europe. There his lordſhip was known, and lived in great ſtate and ſplendor. Though there were at that time great many Engliſh gentlemen, and ſome ladies in the place, he aſſociated very little with them, and ſpent moſt of his time in French families.

His lordſhip had bought at Paris a ſet of hiſtorical tapeſtries of the celebrated manufacture of the Gobelins; ſeveral capital pictures, two compleat ſervices of the procelain of St. Cloud, and at Lyons he purchaſed a great quantity of velvets, rich ſilks, ſilver and gold tiſſues, &c. deſigned for his uſe, or preſents to ſome of his correſpondents in India. He appeared frequently at the public concerts, aſſemblies, plays, and other entertainments. An Italian counteſs famous by divers adventures, who had eloped from a jealous and troubleſome husband at Milan, with a young French gentleman, whoſe finances began to be derangees, thought his lordſhip a very proper man to ſupply his place; if not in her affections, at leaſt to a ſhare of favours, ſhe imagined he would be intitled for, as the higheſt bidder. Le Signora Conteſſe was conſummate in the arts and intrigues of galantry. She was made for pleaſure and enjoyment; the vivacity and expreſſion of her eyes inſpired the moſt inſenſible, with deſires and rapture. She had communicated to her lover the valuable conqueſt ſhe meditated, and as he was to

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be a partner of the contributions ſhe flattered herſelf her charms would raiſe; ſhe ſoon overcame his ſcruples and his delicacy. Lord Clive had ſeen her often in public places, and had even paſſed ſome compliments on her beauty; but ſhe had given ſcarce any encouragement to his addreſſes, her intention being *de reculer pour mieux ſauter*.

One evening that the tragedy of Alzira was acted, and the houſe very full; his lordſhip coming late, and the counteſs having obſerved that he was not conveniently ſeated, ſhe ſent her compliments, and offered him a place in her box, which he accepted. Between the acts ſhe rallied my lord with great wit and pleaſantry, on his amuſements with ſome *bourgeoiſes* and merchants wives; and when he led her to her chair, after the play, offering to accompany her home; "No, no, my lord," ſaid ſhe, "I would not have you diſappoint your ſelect coteries; it is enough for me to have the pleaſure to ſee you in public. This affected indifference, though it mortified his lordſhip's pride, made him more ardent in the purſuit, and he reſolved to have her at any rate. The next day he wrote to her a letter, which was publiſhed afterwards, and ſeveral others, with the anſwers of the counteſs, at Trevour, under the title of *Letters of an Omrah and an Italian Counteſs*. They were uſhered to the world by her French lover, out of reſentment for a non-performance of the articles on her part. The following is an exact tranſlation of ſome of them.

LET-

LETTER I.

" Madam,

" Whatever conſtruction you are pleaſed to put upon my connections with ſome families in this city, I can aſſure you with great truth, that they do not extend farther than a polite and a ſocial intercourſe, where love was never of the party. Could I flatter myſelf, that my homage ſhould not be rejected, you would ſoon be convinced how deſirous I am to pay that tribute to your charms. I thought it unkind that you ſhould refuſe laſt night to comply with my reſpectful petition, I repeat it again, and beg I may know if I can aſpire to the happineſs of being diſtinguiſhed in the croud of your admirers. You will not impute it to miſtruſt or inſincerity, if I do not ſubſcribe my name."

To this letter, no anſwer was made, and the Counteſs's ſilence and affected reſervedneſs produced the deſired effect, in giving occaſion to the next.

" Madam,

" I ſuppoſe you never was in love, otherwiſe you would not keep me in this cruel ſuſpence. I intreat the favour of a line from your beautiful hand, and pleaſe to fix the happy moment I ſhall be indulged with the verbal aſſurances of my invariable attachment."

The

The anſwer was:

" Sir,

" If I have given no encouragement to your addreſſes, it is becauſe I am determined not to ſacrifice my peace of mind to a tranſient gratification. Were I ſure I ſhould never have occaſion to repent of having given my affections to a man who would be my protector, not my deſtroyer, I might explain myſelf more to your ſatisfaction. Till then I remain apprehenſive of the conſequences of a fatal paſſion."

" Madam,

" I am ready to ſubſcribe to all the conditions you will be pleaſed to dictate. As nothing upon earth can be put in competition with your deſirable perſon; I ſhall think, if I attain this point, ſo eſſential to my felicity, that no terms are unreaſonable, provided it is in my power, to comply with them. Pleaſe to mention the time and place for an interview, and you will be the arbiter of my deſtiny."

The following anſwer diſcloſes the views and the character of the lady.

" Sir,

" Since you give me carte-blanche, you will ſee that I ſeem to avail myſelf of your confidence and generoſity. Previous to any engagement, I muſt acquaint you with my preſent ſituation in life, and the real cauſe of my troubles and my difficulties. I was at the age of ſixteen, taken from a convent to marry

marry a man of an illuſtrious family, though inferior to mine, paſt forty. I had an invincible averſion to his perſon, and more ſo to his character; and to his connections; he had ſpent his youth in idleneſs and debauchery, and entailed on himſelf the infirmities of old age: his fortune was looked upon by my parents as a compenſation for all his vices and depravity.

As he had never converſed but with the moſt contemptible part of our ſex, he thought that virtue and fidelity in women, were empty names. His companions were equally profligate and diſſolute. He had nothing to pleaſe, but with the diſguſt he naturally inſpired; no man ever tantalized a woman more than he did. To love ſuch a brute, was out of the queſtion: out of regard to myſelf, I acted with ſuch prudence and diſcretion, that my conduct was never called in queſtion, but a few days before I left him. Notwithſtanding I carefully avoided all particularities with men, knowing his ſuſpicious diſpoſition, he attributed my coolneſs for him to ſome ideal lover, and in the fits of his rage and jealouſy threatened to confine me for life in a nunnery. After ſo many repeated injuries during ſix years, without provocation or imprudence on my part; the young French gentleman, whom you have ſeen with me, having had a letter of recommendation for my deteſtable husband, was ſoon informed of my wretchedneſs, and aſſured me to free me for ever of all thoſe domeſtic troubles and anxieties. The count who had ſeen him once ſpeak to me in private, publiſhed amongſt all his friends and relations, that he had ocular proofs of his diſhonour and

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'mine : notwithſtanding he watched me narrowly, I happily reached the frontiers of France with my deliverer before he was apprized of the road we had taken. As the little money this gentleman had, with ſome jewels I carried with me, were the only reſources left us ; they will be ſoon exhauſted. Now to come to the point ; if you have for me the regard you profeſs, I ſhall be your's ; provided you pay pay two thouſand louis d'ors down ; one for the exigencies of my deliverer, who upon receipt of them, ſhall leave me immediately ; and the other to enable me to appear according to my rank and the ſtyle I have lived in. Beſides I expect in caſe of a rupture, that you will ſettle one thouſand louis d'ors upon me. As I underſtand you have a fortune more than adequate to accept my propoſals, without inconveniency, let me know immediately your intention, and if you agree to this, my door will be always opened to you.

This letter puzzled his lordſhip ; after ſome deliberation, he flattered himſelf yet to bring this affair to the concluſion he wiſhed, for two or three hundred louis d'ors. However, he thought it was very proper to diſſemble, and made the following anſwer.

" Madam,

" I ſhall do myſelf the inexpreſſible pleaſure to wait upon you to-morrow morning about eleven o'clock. My implicit obedience to all your directions and commands, will leave you no doubt of my ſentiments."

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The counteſs thinking her noble lover would not fail to adhere ſtrictly to the conditions, upon which he was to enjoy ſo many charms, condeſcended to accept two hundred louis d'ors as the preliminaries or her ſurrender, and made lord Clive happy. As he appeared with her in public after their intimacy, a *petite marchanda*, who, though ſhe had riveted his lordſhip's affections, and expected an annuity for her kind ſervices, was furious on this diſcovery, and beſtowed upon him all the epithets of a faithleſs, ungrateful, and perfidious lover, and gave vent to her rage in the following letter:

"Could I expect ſuch a barbarous treatment, with the aggravation of the moſt open marks of contempt? I ſhall be revenged of my worthleſs rival and you; and you may depend that you will not both triumph long over my diſgrace and humiliation. This very woman, whoſe title adds to her infamy, and whom yourſelf have ſo many times called a compound of affectation and coquetry, has at laſt ſubdued your reaſon and your judgment. As you do not bluſh to be the ſlave of this mercenary wretch, I do not pretend to reclaim you from ſuch an inglorious connection. But you will know ſoon, that no man however ſo exalted will offend me with impunity. His lordſhip, who did not intend to continue in Lyon above ten or twelve days, expected ſoon to be rid of the complaints and reproaches of this incenſed fair, and to elude the demands of the counteſs, in blaſting her expectations."

Indeed his galantries were likely to draw upon him the vengeance of two exaſperated women, and the reſentment of a young man, who though

him

himſelf injured and ſacrificed by the counteſs and her new paramour. Thus love, jealouſy and diſappointment concurred to diſturb my lord in the midſt of all his enjoyments.

The young gentleman who had reſigned the counteſs upon the hopes of a valuable conſideration, had received from her fifty louis d'ors, which he thought was only a *douceur*, introductory to greater rewards for his condeſcenſion. He became impatient to receive the thouſand louis d'ors, which had been ſettled for his ſhare, and preſſed the counteſs to give him immediate ſatisfaction on this eſſential point; and though her future claim to his lordſhip's further payment, lay equally dormant, under various pretences, the young Frenchman ſuſpected her to have wronged him in the diſtribution of his lordſhip's bounty. Actuated by the ſame ſentiments of revenge of the counteſs's rival, they made a common cauſe, and the young Frenchman who had ſeen the firſt letters that had paſſed between my lord and the counteſs, had communicated the contents to the *marchande*. It was her who adviſed her new confederate to publiſh part of thoſe letters, with ſome annotations on them, and before they were printed, divers paſquinades alluſive to the counteſs's irregularities, were fixed at her door, and other parts of the town.

The counteſs had been informed of the new alliance betwixt her former lover and her antagoniſt; ſhe expoſtulated ſtrongly with his lordſhip on the procraſtination in regard to the ſtipulated payment of the two thouſand louis d'ors, which was the cauſe of all the miſchief her deliverer intended to do her, on a ſuppoſition that my lord had fulfilled his

engagements, and that ſhe had appropriated the money to her own uſe. She intreated him to ſatisfy that ill-adviſed and vindictive man's demands. That as for her, as ſhe expected to accompany his lordſhip, he might pay her at his conveniency. But lord Clive, at the very time he ſeemed to approve of her propoſals, was preparing for his departure, to diſentangle himſelf all at once from her importunities. The impertinence of the Frenchman, and the furious jealouſies of the *marchande*; two letters which he and the counteſs received at the ſame time, made him reſolve to ſet out from Lyon very early the next morning.

The firſt directed to his lordſhip was from the French gentleman, in the following terms:

"Sir,

"I beg to know whether you have fulfilled your engagements with *Madame le Counteſſe*? Was I not concerned in this tranſaction, I ſhould not take the liberty to ask the queſtion; but as I have advanced a conſiderable ſum for her ſupport, and ſhe has promiſed to pay me one thouſand louis d'ors, which you had agreed to give for my own uſe, I beg a ſatisfactory anſwer on that ſubject. The money I am determined to have, &c.

The other letter directed to the counteſs, was from her rival, but dictated by the two aſſociates.

"Though you cannot bluſh, in a few days you will be exhibited to the public in ſuch colours, that even your painted face will not able to bear the light. As you have enſnared perſons who have

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ſaved you from deſtruction, and never gave you the leaſt offence; you have no right to complain of the effects of their implacable animoſity. Wherever you ſhall fly, you will be expoſed: your galantries are as notorious as your infidelity; and notwithſtanding you impute all your errors and your misfortunes, to the ill-grounded jealouſy and barbarous treatment of your forſaken husband, thoſe who are acquainted with your tranſactions are ſenſible, you have not met yet with your deſerts. The man whom you flatter yourſelf to have enſlaved, is as faithleſs as yourſelf: be certain, that your triumph ſhall be of ſhort duration, &c."

After having read their letters, the two lovers ſeemed agitated with apprehenſions of ſome miſchievous contrivance againſt them; and the counteſs beſeeched his lordſhip to haſten his departure; this he was reſolved to do before ſhe was aware of it. Effectively having preſented her with a purſe of fifty louis d'ors under pretence of purchaſing ſome neceſſaries for her voyage; he took for ever his leave of the deceived fair, and the next morning before day break, his lordſhip left Lyon and the two ladies at the entire diſpoſal of the French gentlemen.

From Lyon his lordſhip went to Vienna, and from thence proceeded to Grenoble, where after a life of pleaſure and diſſipation, he conceived the deſign to ſpend ſome days in retirement, at the celebrated monaſtery of the Carthuſians. He was there according to the cuſtom of theſe Anachorites moſt hoſpitably received; and as it is a ſolitude almoſt inacceſſible and remote from any thoroughfare, he thought it adviſeable to remain there four or five days,

days, that the French gentleman and his ladies might not get any information of the road he had taken. What he was moſt apprehenſive of, was that the counteſs might take in her fancy, to come after him. However, as he was not in the leaſt inclined to embrace the ſevere inſtitutes of theſe fathers, after he had faſted long enough with them, and made them a preſent ſuitable to his reception. He went to Valence, and from thence to Avignon.

There he was received with great diſtinction by the Pope's vice-legate, and the nobility and gentry of this capital and its vicinity, vied with each other, in ſhewing to this noble gueſt the ſame reſpect and attention. He had experienced the inconveniency of taking from the hands of a deſtitute lover, a woman who had eloped from her husband; therefore his lordſhip had made a reſolution, to have no intrigues but with ladies, who might occaſionally tranſgreſs the command, without forfeiting by ſuch a raſh ſtep, all lawful claims to conjugal ſupport.

The lady whom he ſingled out at Avignon for his amuſement, a few tranſient amours excepted, was an excellent wife, according to the French notion, and much attached to her husband, who thought ſhe was a ſecond Penelope. Was ſhe partial to any man? it was becauſe he had a true regard for her husband. Did ſhe go on a party of pleaſure with a lover, without her beloved ſpouſe? It was to ſhew the world that he was not afraid to truſt her with young fellows. Had ſhe a rendezvous with a favourite? It was to do a ſervice or an act of charity to ſome of her husband's friends and relations. In fine, ſhe was always right, and always

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ſure to meet with the approbation of her good man, who really was good-natured to a fault. Madame de Souillac (ſuch was her name) was very handſome, and had what the French call *du temper amaiment* complaiſance, flattery and attentions, with a title, were ſure to gain her heart, and the tranſition to the enjoyment of her perſon was very rapid.

She had been the vice-legate's favourite ſultana, and ſhe was always invited at the public entertainments which he frequently gave. It was, in one of them that Madame de Souillac, obſerved the attention which the vice-legate paid to the noble ſtranger, who at the ſame time took notice, that her beautiful eyes had been for ſome time fixed upon him. His lordſhip's vanity gave a favourable conſtruction to theſe oglings, and took the firſt opportunity to turn her head, by the moſt laviſh praiſes on her perſonal accompliſhments, in order to prepoſſeſs her mind according to his deſires. We cannot pretend to ſay, that lord Clive had that irreſiſtible power of pleaſing, which creates ſudden paſſions, but Madame de Souillac whoſe complexion chiefly conſiſted of the fiery element, wanted but an object to kindle the flame in her breaſt, provided he was a man of quality, who made a brilliant appearance. As my lord anſwered this idea, the tender of his love could not be rejected. The lady having named after ſupper his lordſhip to be one of her party at Quadrille, he loſt ſome louis d'ors *de meilleure grace du monde*; and as Madame de Souillac had no equipage; ſhe accepted without heſitation my lord's propoſal to ſee her home in his carriage. She was too well bred, when the carriage ſtopped at her door, not to deſire him to walk in. My lord

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was ſhewn into a ſaloon, where Monſieur Souillac was playing at picquet with two of his friends, till the return of his chaſte ſpouſe. *This nobleman*, ſaid ſhe to her husband, who has had the politeneſs to accompany me, is the Engliſh lord, whoſe brilliant equipage and livery you took notice of the other day. He intends to reſide here ſome time; I hope the vice-legate will not engroſs his company to himſelf, and that we ſhall have the honour to ſee him often, *en famelle*. To this the good husband anſwered, that he was exceſſively obliged to Madame de Souillac, for having procured him the acquaintance of a man of his merit and diſtinction; and to cultivate it would be a great addition to his happineſs. My lord returned the compliments, and begged the gentlemen to continue their party, which was ſoon finiſhed.

Madame de Souillac reſumed the converſation, in informing my lord with the bad ſtate of health of her *cher mari*, who on that account reſided chiefly at his country-houſe near Torcalquier, for the benefit of the air. As for my part, added ſhe, I am not fond of rural amuſements, I give the preferance to our little capital, ſince we are doomed to live in a remote province from Paris. As I ſeldom go out but towards the evening, and dine often at home, you are ſure my lord always to find me, and to be exceſſively welcome. To this, my lord anſwered by a profound bow: 'I found your carriage ſo eaſy, that indeed it would tempt me to go out for an airing oftener than I uſed to; and if agreeable, we ſhall pay a viſit to Monſieur Souillac, one of theſe days, and take with him *un diner champetre*. My lord agreed to all theſe propoſals, and having promi-

promiſed to come the next day about noon to inquire *comment Monſieur et Madame avoient paſſe la nuit.* He took his leave.

The next day his lordſhip having been announced, though Monſieur de Souillac was in his ſtudy, was led into Madame's apartments, according to her orders. She was at her toilette, *dans le diſhabille les plus galant.* "Ah! my lord," ſaid ſhe, "You have almoſt ſurprized me, before I was in a condition to receive you." But I know the Engliſh gentlemen are modeſt and baſhful, conſequently I was not apprehenſive that you ſhould have been *tres entreprenant.*

The reader perhaps may queſtion the truth of theſe converſations; his lordſhip at his return frequently related to his friends the ſeveral intrigues he had with French ladies, and the conferences which were the prelude of their ſurrendering at diſcretion. My lord was ſeated on a ſopha, whilſt Madame ſometimes contrived, without deviating in the leaſt from the *bienſeances* to ſhew a *gorge d'une beaute raviſſante*, and charming legs which were *un prejuge avantage pour le reſte.* After her *fille de chambre* had performed her ſervice, ſhe was diſmiſſed, and left the noble lord and the lady, in the moſt eligible ſituation of a tete-a-tete. Madame de Souillac, *qui etoit aguerri* was not in the leaſt afraid of my lord's *temerite.*

As Madame de Souillac's intention was to admit his lordſhip conſtantly at her toilet, without ſuſpicion or impediment, and that he might have a free acceſs to her apartment at all times, ſhe thought it was but reaſonable to acquaint her huſband once for all, that my lord was with her, deſired

fired his compliments and ſhould be glad to ſee him. *Chez Madame.* In conſequence of this polite meſſage, Monſieur de Souillac knocking at the door with the moſt humble deference, was admitted and moſt graciouſly received by his matchleſs wife; and the uſual compliments having paſſed between my lord and him, ſhe ſaid, ſhe was extremely ſenſible of his complaiſance and attention, to come and inquire after her health, and more ſo for having agreed to dine and ſpend the evening with her. Indeed, reply'd Monſieur de Souillac, I am exceſſively obliged to his lordſhip, and happy to hear you will ſpend your time ſo agreeably; I hope my lord will not take it ill if on account of my health, I go to ſpend a week in the country, and that during my abſence he will continue his kind viſits on the ſame amicable footing. As for you, Madame de Souillac, I do not pretend to compliment you, when I ſay that no woman does the honour of her houſe with more judgment and decency. It is a great misfortune to be infirm, and that I am forced to deprive myſelf of my lord's uſeful and entertaining converſation; but, I hope my lord and you will favour me with a viſit in the country before I return. I know, ſaid Madame, that my lord will excuſe you, and ſhould be very ſorry *de vous deranger.* Certainly, added my lord, I beg ſir, you will not mind me, and when I am at your houſe not to alter in the leaſt your manner of living. As you give me that permiſſion, ſaid Monſieur de Souillac, *cil pedrone della caſa.* After this explanation ſo agreeable to all parties, the good gentleman retired, and went out for buſineſs, before

before he did ſet out for his country-ſeat. *Vous voies, dit alors Madame, que mon mar, eſt le meilleur homme de monde.* We have never any of theſe jarrs and quarrels unbecoming perſons of faſhion; he is never more pleaſed than when I amuſe myſelf in the company *de quelque aimable cavalier.* No reſtriction upon my conduct; no jealouſy deſtructive of all ſocial intercourſe. You ſee he is old enough to be my father; but I like him better than a young man, who had been perhaps an unfaſhionable huſband, accompanied me wherever I went, and plagued me with conjugal love; *en faviſant d'etre joloun et importune.* No, Monſieur de Souillac and I live together *ſur le bon ton,* diſtant apartments, ſeperate beds and different companies, adapted to our age and inclinations. Indeed, ſaid my lord, this is a charming life. Marriage is not well underſtood amongſt us; we know nothing but its ſhackles and *les perſonnes comme il faut en France,* enjoy the pleaſures of that free ſtate.

Now what I require of you, my dear ſir, if the charms you are pleaſed to allow me have made upon you the impreſſion you ſpeak of, is in caſe my partiality for you, ſhould in ſome critical moments, that all women have, make me yield to your intreaties and perhaps your repeated attacks, that you do not boaſt ungenerouſly of your triumph, and that I may depend upon your attachment and diſcretion. No doubt, but that the noble lord anſwered in the affirmative, with the additional profeſſions of courſe of an inviolable and unfeigned love.

After this eſſential ecclairciſſement, my lord began his approaches, and took poſſeſſion of the outworks with no other reſiſtance, than what a little

decorum required. The place had ſurrendered at diſcretion, had the general been provided with ammunition; but rather than to commit his reputation, after they had interchanged the moſt rapturous kiſſes, our hero made a prudent though not perhaps an honourable retreat. After ſome minutes of ſilence, the lady recovered from her diſorder, and fetching a deep ſigh, ſaid, "How weak women are! I bid you to deſiſt, when I wiſhed you ſhould proceed. You know to conquer, without availing yourſelf of the victory." This keen reproach mortified the weak aſſailant, and to be revenged of his backwardneſs and her diſappointment, Madame de Souillac rang the bell for her chambermaid, who came accordingly to help her miſtreſs to finiſh her dreſs.

My lord having taken two diſhes of ſtrong chocolate, by Madame de Souillac's preſcription, now that ſhe was *habillee dans le grand gout*, it was againſt the rules of the *ſcavoir vivre* to make any attempt which might have *derange ſa parure*. She propoſed to my lord to take an airing in his carriage before dinner, and as ſoon as the *amoureau tranſi* with the lady were out of the gates of the city, ſhe began the following intereſting converſation:

"I muſt confeſs, my lord, that there is in our ſex a ſtrange inconſiſtency. We wiſh to preſerve the appearance of what the vulgar call virtue, though we look upon it as a troubleſome check to our deareſt inclinations, and are often diſpleaſed at the timidity of the man we love for acting according to injunctions; we conſider as a matter of form, diametrically oppoſite to our expectations. Though I do not take you for a novice, you perhaps may

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not know that moſt French women of quality look upon an inſult to their charms, which few have the generoſity to forgive any procraſtination, when they have prepared gradually, and wiſh for the *l'heureux inſtant*. As for my part, I am not ſo ſtrict or ſo unforgiving; though I do not like to be baulked, and am always ſorry to have ſhewn my weakneſs, when it is not conducive to the gratification of my deſires; I make ſome allowance for a lover's ſtagnation at certain times, who with the moſt ardent paſſion may, for different cauſes, relent at the laſt ſtage of his purſuit. My intention was to make you happy this morning, and many other women who love with leſs ardour and ſincerity, would have plagued you with a long and a tedious courtſhip. As for my part, I utterly deſpiſe all theſe little arts; my vanity perſuaded me that you had found in my perſon charms ſufficient, to receive the ſpontaneous proofs of the paſſion you have declared; I was in that *egarement* of the ſenſes, when we feel and cannot argue; you had raiſed my deſires and my expectations, and I eagerly wiſhed for the enjoyment of them. This is really a cruel diſappointment; but as I hope it does not proceed from indifference or contempt, and that you will convince me another time of your ſincere affection, by the deareſt pledge of it, I overlook this *faux pas*.

My lord made his apology with great candour and ingenuity. He allowed in general the juſtice of the charge, and of the ladies diſpleaſure in ſimilar caſes. He ſaid, he had been out of order, and was not really prepared for the enjoyment of this unexpected felicity; and attributed to the previous impetuoſity of his deſires, the charming opportunity

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he had miſſed. He added, *that he hoped he ſhould* have ſoon another to retrieve his character and the ladies good opinion, and prove to her that he was not inſenſible of the great favours he flattered himſelf to obtain.

After an excurſion of two hours, they returned home and dined in the greateſt harmony, dipping now and then the arrows of the miſchievous little god into champaign and burgundy.

Some ladies and gentlemen, who came in the afternoon to pay a viſit to Madame de Souillac, and whom ſhe could not well diſpenſe to receive, though againſt her inclination, interrupted for a time our lovers *tete-a-tete*. Madame de Souillac after they were gone, having begged his lordſhip's leave to undreſs himſelf, for reaſons the reader may eaſily gueſs; my lord for fear of being taxed again of backwardneſs or omiſſion, propoſed to accompany her. The chamber-maid having been diſmiſſed, the lady threw herſelf careleſly on the ſopha, where the noble lord received her, with the moſt eager embraces.

My lord's aſſiduities to Madame de Souillac, were ſoon the topic of the converſation of the beau monde: every body knew their intimacy, whilſt the husband did not even harbour an idea injurious to his lady's virtue. To ſilence cenſure and detraction, they now and then viſited the paſſive husband *a ſa terre*, who thought himſelf greatly honoured with this connection, and did not treat my lord as his *Aide de camp*, but as a powerful and reſpectable auxiliary.

The vice-legate who knew Madame de Souillac's gallantries, and had himſelf ſhared her bounty, con-

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gratulated my lord upon his conqueſt, adding, he was glad his lordſhip had taken her from his hands, as ſhe required too much duty. My lord joked himſelf upon his *bonne fortune*, which ſarcaſms joined to his debility, cauſed the lady's diſpleaſure and reſentment.

My lord, having revealed to the vice legate ſeveral ludicrous circumſtances of his intrigue, with Madame de Souillac, and the prelate having divulged them to ſome of his intimate acquaintances of both ſexes, Madame le comteſſe de la Motte, who like her friend had indulged herſelf in promiſcuous gallantries, but was capable of attachment even to women; one morning waited upon Madame de Souillac, whilſt lord Clive was in her apartment. As they had been connected for many years paſt, chiefly by a conformity of inclinations, and Madame de la Motte had deſired the ſervant to let his miſtreſs know, that ſhe had ſomething of conſequence to impart to her: Madame de Souillac begged his lordſhip would excuſe her for half an hour, to which he anſwered in the affirmative.

"I ſuppoſe, began the counteſs, when ſhe ſaw Madame de Souillac, little confuſed, that you was up ſtairs with your dear Engliſh lord. What makes you think ſo? replied Madame de Souillac. Becauſe I know, anſwered the counteſs, *qu'il ne bouge, pas de ches vous et que vous etes. Coiffee de las.* "Well, my dear counteſs," ſaid Madame de Souillac, "Suppoſe all what you ſay is true, you cannot condemn me, ſince you would act the ſame *ſe il vous avoit affichee.* Perhaps I might, confeſſed candidly Madame de la Motte, but were I informed

med that he does not deſerve my affection, I would withdraw it from a worthleſs object. But is it the caſe? ſaid Madame de Souillac. I am ſorry to tell you he has abuſed your kindneſs, and expoſed you in the moſt illiberal manner. This is the very ſubject of my viſit, and if you have patience to hear me, I will let you know the particulars of his ungenerous proceedings. You are ſufficiently well acquainted with the character of the vice-legate, not to be ignorant of his propenſity to turn in ridicule moſt women who have had for him *quelques petites foibleſſes*. You and me have experienced his ingratitude and his deceit. He has a long while ſuſpected and indeed all the town, that my lord had an intrigue with you. As for their ſurmiſes, you deſpiſe them as well as I, as long as private converſation is not betrayed, nor the intimacy of the parties revealed. Madame de la Tour the reigning miſtreſs, whoſe name muſt never be mentioned, cannot keep, as you know, even the ſecrets of her paramour. Two days ago, the vice-legate related to her a converſation you had with my lord, when you took with him for the firſt time an airing in your carriage, with many circumſtances, which really make you appear as a *maſſaline*. You know, if my lord did not juſtice to your charms the firſt time you ſurrendered at diſcretion, and if you gave him afterwards a lecture on his remiſſneſs. Do not heſitate: Is this true, or an invention? Ah! my dear, anſwered the counteſs, it is too true: I am ſcandalouſly uſed and betrayed. My lord has beſides declared to the vice-legate that he would ſoon reſign his poſt, as he was not able to hold it longer,

longer, with many other railleries of that kind, which will hurt your reputation, as no man afterwards who has not the ſtrength of Hercules will engage with you, ſince you are inſatiable in your deſires. Well, my dear counteſs, ſaid Madame de Souillac, what ſhall I do? the perfidious wretch is up ſtairs: ſhall I go to him and load him with curſes and reproaches? No my dear, anſwered ſhe, it is better to poſtpone the effects of your vengeance, till you are more cool and more deliberate. Ring the bell and let him know by your chamber maid, that ſome family affair has obliged you to go out with me, after you and me are gone in my carriage. Madame de Souillac acquieſſed to this propoſal and went to the houſe of the Counteſs. Her vanity was more offended than her love concerned in this diſcovery. Indeed, my lord had lately ſo much neglected her charms, that ſhe had thought of deſigning him a ſucceſſor; only ſhe expected my lord would make ſome acknowledgment for all the favours ſhe had ſo freely beſtowed on him, though ſhe was far from being of a mercenary diſpoſition, if ſhe treated him with the ſame kindneſs till his departure. She communicated her intentions to her friend, who really coincided with her in opinion, that ſhe ſhould not be dupe of a man who had betrayed her, in regard to money matters, and that ſhe had a fine opportunity to tell him, that ſome diſagreeable family affairs having happened, and Monſieur de Souillac having contracted ſome engagements, which he could not fulfill, the conſequences would be dangerous, if a friend did not lend you 2000 piſtoles, to extricate yourſelf from

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the preſent difficulties. This plan was approved of, and Madame de Souillac promiſed to diſſemble her reſentment till ſhe had compaſſed her deſign.

Lord Clive who had engaged her to ſeveral expences really intended to make her a preſent for the extra he had put her to; but moſt likely he had not eſtimated them ſo high as Madame de Souillac. She returned home after dinner, and her noble viſitor came according to cuſtom, towards the evening, whom ſhe received with the ſame apparent cordiality, but ſhe ſeemed dejected aud unhappy in her mind. He naturally inquired the reaſon, and begged, if it was not a ſecret, ſhe was not authorized to reveal, to tell him the ſubject of her grief. She firſt made an apology for troubling him with her family affairs, magnified the derangement of her finances, and concluded, by a pathetic ſtory of her alarming ſituation, with the intimation of the immediate want of a friend's aſſiſtance. My lord believed all this to be true, and ſeemingly concerned for her affliction and embarraſſment, promiſed to give her the next day a bill upon his banker at Lyons for 1000 piſtoles, adding, that if it did ſuit him, he would contrive to advance her the other thouſand. It ſeems as if the generous proceeding, had obliterated the memory of her wrongs, for he continued his viſits as uſual, and ſhe never upbraided him for what was paſt, in expectation of the next payment. Indeed, two days before his departure from Avignon, he diſcontinued his viſits, as he foreſaw that Madame de Souillac would lay new claims on account of the conditional promiſe he had made. But ſhe never knew but the very day that he

he diſappeared, that he had fixed the time; and ſhe comforted herſelf with the ſum ſhe had received for her charms, whilſt lord Clive thought her ſecret and repeated ſervices deſerved ſuch a premium.

His lordſhip went from Avignon to Aix, where two Engliſh gentlemen of Shropſhire on their travels having heard, from one of his ſervants, after he had alighted at the ſame hotel, who he was: one of them, whoſe family had been at variance with lord Clive, on account of the parliamentary intereſt he had purchaſed, ſpoke diſreſpectfully of the noble lord's tranſactions in Europe and Aſia. This having been related by the ſon of the landlord to the noble lord's valet de chambre, he informed his maſter with the contumacious ſpeech of his young countryman. My lord, thought at firſt it was better to diſſemble his reſentment, than to make a fracas; but the author of theſe aſperſions having received the moſt unfavourable impreſſion of his lordſhip from his parents, and was a great proficient in the art of fencing, took upon himſelf to be the champion of his friend's quarrel, and by repeated provocations which he publicly avowed, forced his lordſhip to take notice of the injurious reports he had propagated to his diſadvantage. One morning, he ſent a meſſage to the young gentleman to acquaint him, he ſhould be glad to ſee him with his friend; to which the ſpirited youth anſwered, that though he looked upon lord Clive as his equal, notwithſtanding his Iriſh title and decorations, and thought he might as well have taken the trouble to come to his own apartment; for fear his lordſhip ſhould conſtrue his refuſal to wait upon him into

fear and timidity, he ſhould immediately repair to my lord's lodgings; where he went accordingly with his friend.

My lord having deſired the gentlemen to be ſeated, addreſſed his aggreſſor, ſaying, "Sir, as I "know nothing of you, I am much more ſurpri-"zed at the liberty you have taken with my cha-"racter, and that you ſhould have been ſo buſy, "in vilifying my origin and my relations. Was "you not a young man, rather below my notice "and my rank in life, I ſhould not confine myſelf "to a verbal correction, but make you ſenſible, "if on equal terms, in another manner, of your "raſhneſs and imprudence. Whatever you can "ſay of me, my conduct in India and at home, "baffles all the impotent efforts of envy and cen-"ſure."

To this the young gentleman anſwered with great compoſure, "My lord, I hope you never "will know any thing of me, but what is honour-"able and conſiſtent with a liberal way of think-"ing. As for the liberty I have taken with your "character, I ſhall not retract what I have advan-"ced. When you came here, I ſaid before ſome "Engliſh gentlemen, who ſaw you alight from "your carriage, behold! our country nabob, "who having with the ſpoils of the Eaſt influenced "venal electors to bring into the ſenate his obſcure "relations and the deſpicable tools of his abuſed "power and oppreſſion, now travels in France to "diſplay his oſtentatious pageantry. Though I "am not ſo well acquainted with your Indian tran-"ſactions, as with your manœuvres in elections, I

"have

" have a ſufficient information to make good my " charge. In regard to your origin and your re- " lations, I ſhould not have reflected upon theſe " fortuitous diſtinctions, had you not inſulted my " parents and diſguſted all the gentlemen of our " country by your haughtineſs and arrogant dic- " tates. I ſhall not claim any indulgence as a " young man, and I think myſelf upon a par with " you, notwithſtanding your titles and honours ; " often proſtituted to undeſerving upſtarts. I " ſhall ſubmit to no correction, neither I reſpect " of what you call raſhneſs and imprudence, and " which I name juſtice due to my friends and to " myſelf. I believe with you, that the immenſe " wealth you are poſſeſſed of, will defeat the in- " tents of all inquiries into your conduct at home " and abroad." He concluded by ſaying, " My " lord, if you require further ſatisfaction, I ſhall " not leave this place for theſe two months to " come."

My lord ſeeing that he was a young gentleman *determineé*, got up, as a ſignal for him and his companion to withdraw, thinking very rightly that if he was obliged to draw the ſword, for all reflections caſt on his military and civil tranſactions, he ſhould be obliged to be in a ſtate of a perpetual war.

He remained but a few days at Aix, during which he comforted himſelf with an Engliſh lady, famous for her galantries and infidelities to her lovers, and to whoſe ſhrine he paid his mite.

Before he did ſet out from that city, Madame de Souillac who had been apprized of the road he had taken, ſent him the following epiſtle, tranſlated verbatim.

" My

" My lord,

" Your unexpected departure from Avignon, " deprived me of the opportunity of upbraiding " you as you deserve, for your ungenerous beha- " viour in regard to me. My gratitude for the " little service you have done me cannot silence " my just complaints for your injuries. It is not " that I am much affected by your treacherous " proceeding, but I am glad to let you know, that " I think you worthless of any reputable woman's " attachment. I did not foresee, when I received " you at my house as a friend, and a man whom I " thought merited a particular regard; that you " would join with the vice-legate, in treating me " with the highest contempt and ridicule. Whate- " ver are my frailties and my imperfections, you " should have been the last man to expose them; " and for some part of our private conversations, " that you have betrayed, with the addition of " satyr and invention: I think no man of honour " should boast of the confidence reposed in him to " abuse it. I have only a salutary advice to give " you; do not flatter yourself that your opulence " can give a varnish to the most unjustifiable pro- " ceedings. There are many women like me who " may be deceived by appearances; but when the " treachery is detected, the object become more " hateful and despicable, in proportion as his sta- " tion is more exalted: I dare say, I shall never see " you, nor indeed do I wish to be ever connected " with a man so deceitful. Was it worth my " while, I could report you in the colours that you

" deserve

" deſerve to my friends at Aix, and ſome relati-
" ons I have at Marſeilles; but I do not think it
" worth my while to think of you after I have
" concluded and ſubſcribed myſelf with the high-
" eſt contempt and indifference,

M. de Souillac."

My lord was nettled with this letter, and as he was conſcious he deſerved part of the lady's reproaches, he wiſhed the vice-legate or his confidants had never mentioned ſome railleries, which indeed ill repaid the lady's kindneſs and hoſpitality.

Of all the towns of France, Marſeilles ſeemed the moſt deſirable abode to his lordſhip; and indeed as a commercial city, it was the place where he found moſt of the principal inhabitants eager to ſhew him all marks of reſpect and attention, on account of the reputation of his immenſe wealth, which will always give the pre-eminence in ſuch an empirium. He hired at three miles diſtance from the town a little villa, which the Marſeillois call a Caſſine, and there he purpoſed to live ſome time for the benefit of the air and the conveniency of ſecret enjoyments. The reader muſt not judge by the multiplicity of adventures his lordſhip had with women, that he was an Hercules; he wanted new objects to ſharpen his appetites; and none anſwered the cravings of his imagination. However, the principal motive of his retirement was, to ſatisfy ſome of his ſenſes in a conſtant ſupply of the pretty *provencales*, who are ſprightly and vivacious without interruption. To the moſt eminent mer-

chants

chants he gave ſumptuous entertainments, and to their wives and daughters balls and little concerts. But the man who contributed chiefly to his amuſements, was one Monſieur Bellon, a broker, whoſe moſt profitable branch of buſineſs was to procure women of eaſy virtue to ſtrangers, who had will and power to reward munificently his ſecret ſervices. He waited on the noble lord, as the moſt likely man to give him great encouragement, and made him a tender of his miniſtry. My lord and his broker became ſoon acquainted with each other's temper and inclinations, and as Bellon was a man of addreſs and inſinuating, he ſoon managed all his lordſhip's domeſtic affairs.

He brought daily his bill of fare, which conſiſted of new diſcoveries relative to women, calculated for my lord's paſtime. Some were married, others languiſhing widows, and the major part girls of pleaſure; which Bellon introduced in the modeſt attire of citizen's daughters, after they had been properly inſtructed in the part they were to act. If my lord did not throw his handkerchief to every one, he diſmiſſed them all ſatisfied with little preſents. This was really living like an Eaſtern ſovereign, and if my lord had no reaſon to boaſt of conqueſts that belonged to the public, he enjoyed the illuſory ſatisfaction of flattering himſelf to have had the firſt fruits.

As Bellon did not acquaint my lord with the connections of the woman deſigned for his pleaſure, he was likely to involve his patron in a diſagreeable affair, by inliſting for his ſervice, one of the prettieſt girls in Marſeilles: ſhe was the miſtreſs of a captain in the French navy, who was gone to Toulon

Toulon for a few days. Unluckily my lord took a particular fancy to her, and as her daily pay exceeded the yearly allowance of Monſieur de Kerſant, her keeper, ſhe was reſolved to continue her intimacy with my lord, after her *jealous ſurveillant* return. Monſieur de Kerſant having called at her houſe ſeveral times one evening, and having in vain inquired from her maid the reaſon of this extraordinary abſence, poſted his ſervant in the ſtreet, with orders to obſerve if any man accompanied her home, and to acquaint him of the time ſhe returned. About three o'clock in the morning, ſhe knocked at her door, and wiſhed a good night to Bellon, who had ſeen her home. As the ſervant could not in the dark diſtinguiſh who he was, he followed him at a diſtance, till he came to his houſe, and opened the door himſelf with his key. The ſervant who knew Bellon's reſidence, reported to his maſter the next morning, what he had ſeen; and de Kerſan furious went to his miſtreſs, to convince her of the proofs he had of her infidelity. She was not up, but this circumſtance did not prevent him from going into her bed-chamber, where he had acceſs at all times, and he awaked her with the moſt poignant reproaches of her ingratitude and perfidy; and having added, that he knew all Belon's vile arts to ſeduce her, for which he ſhould call him to an account: ſhe naturally concluded, that he was apprized with her intrigue with my lord. She did not attempt to deny the fact, or to exculpate her guilt, but anſwered in a paſſion, "I deſpiſe your anger and your threatenings; as I have changed my ſituation for the better, I declare to you, that I ſhall go again to my lord, and that from this day I think

I think myſelf no longer accountable to you for my actions. This confeſſion which proceeded from the idea that Kerſant was acquainted with the whole tranſaction, gave him a further information, and he ſaw at once that Bellon was only the agent, and his lordſhip his happy rival. After ſome altercation, Monſieur de Kerſant retired and went to Mr. Bellon, reſolved to puniſh him for his infamous brokage.

Having been admitted into his counting-houſe, as ſoon as Bellon was informed it was Monſieur de Kerſant who wanted to ſpeak to him, he was not at a loſs to gueſs the ſubject of his viſit. He deſired one of his clerks to conduct him into a private apartment up ſtairs; and Bellon having made his appearance; "Ah! ah, Monſieur le Maquereau," ſaid Kerſant in addreſſing him, "I did not know that you acted in this honourable capacity, otherwiſe I might have employed you before now. But ſince you have debauched a woman, whom I thought true to me, and made for her and yourſelf a deteſtable bargain; without farther ceremony I ſhall cane you as you deſerve, and immediately applied upon his ſhoulders ſome ſevere ſtrokes with his ſtick. Bellon prudently pocketed the affront, reſolved to make his lordſhip pay for his diſgrace.

From thence Monſieur de Kerſant proceeded to my lord's villa, and having been admitted, he ſaid to his lordſhip, he came to demand ſatisfaction for the injury he had done him. If I have given you any offence, anſwered his lordſhip, it is not wilfully, as I have not the pleaſure to know you. That may be, replied de Kerſant, but I ſuppoſe, my lord, you are not ignorant of my attachment,

to a woman, that Bellon has procured you, in alienating her affections for me. In regard to this imputation, ſaid my lord, "If I have ſeen any lady that belong to you, I think myſelf no more guilty in that reſpect of a breach of honour, or any intended injury, than if I was connected with the wife of a man whom I have never ſeen nor heard of before." So my lord, you was not apprized that Mrs. Duvarger was the kept miſtreſs of Monſieur de Kerſant, a captain in the king's navy? "I never heard," anſwered my lord, "your name mentioned before; and if the lady has thrown herſelf into my arms, no matter by whoſe means and contrivance; you cannot blame me." "Well, my lord," concluded Mr. de Kerſant, "This explanation is ſufficient, but in regard to your emiſſary Monſieur Bellon, I have given him a receipt in full for his officious conduct."

Monſieur de Kerſan retired after this ecclairiciſſement, reſolved to abandon his miſtreſs to the noble lord.

As for Bellon he comforted himſelf for the ignominious puniſhment he had received, with the perquiſites and other douceurs he had enjoyed, whilſt acting under my lord's commiſſion.

This little diſturbance engaged his lordſhip to leave his little villa ſooner than he intended. Having viſited the arſenal and the king's dock at Toulon, he returned in his way to England, through Montpelliere, Toulouſe and Bourdeaux. The Maraſhal de Richelieu, governor of Guinea, who had been the moſt agreeable debauchee in France, being informed of his lordſhip's arrival, ſent one of his gentlemen to his lordſhip, with the moſt obli-

ging invitation to make to live *en famele* at his hotel, as long as his lordſhip ſhould reſide in Bourdeaux. Lord Clive in conſequence of this politeneſs waited immediately upon the duke, and aſſured him that he was too ſenſible of his kind offers, and too well acquainted with the Mareſhal's merit and ſocial qualifications, to omit any opportunity to reſort to the ſeat of his government, which under his auſpices muſt be the abode of Mars, Venus and Apollo. The mareſhal, who ſtill endeavoured to ſupport the reputation of a man *a bonnes fortunes*, was highly delighted with the compliment, and repaid it in contriving to procure to his noble gueſt all the pleaſures in his power. He had for the form ſake a miſtreſs, widow of a member of the parliament, who did the honours of his houſe and his table with all the graces imaginable. As the mareſhal wiſhed for nothing elſe than to be reckoned her titular lover, he gave her leave to appoint whom ſhe pleaſed to do the duties of the office. My lord found that ſhe was of eaſy compoſition, and ſoon filled the agreeable poſt of ſigiſbes. Madame la Preſidente indeed, did not find in him the contraſt of the mareſhal; but his attentions and the preference he had given her, flattered her vanity: after having ſpent a few days with the mareſhal and his lady in a continued ſcene of pleaſures and entertainments, he took a moſt affectionate leave of the lady and her moſt obliging keeper, and proceeded through Angouleſme and la Rochelle to Poitiers. From thence he went to the celebrated abbey of Fonteveraud, to ſee the tombs of Henry II. and Richard I. He was moſt agreeably entertained by the lady Abbeſs and ſome young

nuns

nuns of her attendance. He ſtopped a few days at Nantes, Angers, le Mars and Chartres, and having ſpent a week at Paris incognito, he proceeded to Calais, where he embarked for England. Indeed it was high time for his lordſhip to return, as his enemies had been very buſy in his abſence to defame his late adminiſtration in Bengal.

Lord Clive after his return from France, having found a great benefit from the climate of the Southern provinces, now directed his attention to make a powerful party in the India-houſe, and to influence divers members of the legiſlature in order to prevent enquiries into his conduct and tranſactions in the Eaſt, in which ſo many of his friends were eſſentially concerned, and that might injure his fortune and character, in making the triumphs of his enemies compleat. He was no longer mentioned as the glorious deliverer of the province of Arcot, and the victor of Plaſſey, but branded with the ignominious appellations of a rapacious pillager, a ſordid monopoliſt, a moſt tyrannical oppreſſor and the author of all the abuſes and miſeries that threatened ruin and deſolation in Bengal.

We ſhall leave for ſome time his lordſhip making preparations for his defence, and inſert in this interval the campaigns of the commanding officers in Bengal, with which one of our correſpondents has lately favoured us, as the continuation of theſe already mentioned.

When colonel Munro left the army, the command devolved upon major Sir Robert Fletcher; this ſpirited and active officer could not longer brook the inſults of the enemy's cavalry; every day beating up the quarters of ſo fine an army as he

he had under his command. For the preſent he only confirmed the orders of colonel Munro, by giving it out in general orders, that "All former orders given out by major Munro are to be ſtrictly obſerved, unleſs contradicted in general orders." And made a few alterations in reſpect to the out parts, and the line in conſequence of a number of officers having left the army. The major remained ſome little time on the preſent ground, in order to know, if major Munro's quitting the command of the army, could induce the temerity of Sujal al Dowlah once more to attack us in our encampment as he did at Buxar, and try again his fortune in the field of honour.

Sujah al Dowlah had no intention of attacking us again in a ſet battle: In ſhort how could he? At this time, he had not above one fourth part of the army he had at Buxar, and without cannon, and our army had conſiderably increaſed. Dear bought experience had taught him to act the general better. He now divided his horſe into ſmall parties, and kept ſkirmiſhing with us from morning till night.

Sir Robert to put an end to this ſort of action, and entirely to make a conqueſt of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, on the 14th at night marched towards the enemy; and the order of battle finiſhed with this caution: "Sujah al Dowlah having ſaid privately to his principal officers, that he will leave his camp ſtanding, for our troops to plunder; and as ſoon as he finds them diſperſed, will return and cut them to pieces; it is therefore recommended to the troops in general to avoid plundering, the captain of the ſeapoy's battallions are deſired to

ſwear

ſwear their men on the alcoran, that they will neither plunder nor leave their platoon without orders."

The men were in motion all night, and in the morning we found ourſelves little better than a mile from our former encampment, owing to the banks of a dry nullah not being ſtopped the evening before for our guns to get over.

We encamped at Seapoor, and as the enemy's horſe were all round us, and ſeemed determined to be as troubleſome as poſſible. Sir Robert halted here ſome days in order that the buzar might be furniſhed with ſeven days proviſions; and the Cutwals had poſitive orders not to ſell any grain but to the army, except to thoſe whom officers may order, ſuch as Laſcars, Artificers, &c.

The officers were ordered to make their ſervants provide themſelves with two or three days proviſions.

The 18th 1765, We marched, and obliged the enemy to move their encampment, and we took poſſeſſion of it. Before we came to our ground it rained exceſſive hard; a large body of the enemy's horſe drew up upon the right of our line of march, as if they intended to charge us; but a ſhot or two from our cannon convincing them that we could make uſe of them in wet as well as dry weather, made them march off. Had they had the courage to have charged us at this critical moment, when in a manner the army was deluged, they might have cut off a great number of us, as I do not imagine one muſket in fifty would have gone off.

The army marched again the next day, and the 20th encamped within a few coſs of Joanpoor.

Sir

Sir Robert finding that he could not bring Sujah al Dowlah to an engagement, and that he, the Subah, had but few troops with him, therefore determined on driving him out of his country and retrieving his fortreſſes. With this view, he marched after the Nabob himſelf, and ſent major Stibbert with a ſtrong detachment, to lay ſiege to Chunargurr. Sir Robert marched on to Joanpoor, took its fort, left a garriſon in it, and then marched after Sujah al Dowlah, whom he obliged to ſeek for protection in the Rohilla country. Sir Robert then laid ſiege to the important town of Allahabad, and while he was carrying on his approaches, the brave and active major Stibbert, was battering the walls of Chunargurr. Theſe two ſtrong fortreſſes ſurrendered about the 8th of February, 1765.

The combined ſucceſs and harmony of theſe two officers in this campaign, reflect great honour on their judgment and activity.

On the 13th of February, General Carnac, arrived at Chunar, and took the command of the army. When a gentleman enters into the army with ſorded views, without the ambition of military glory, ſuch an officer when he meets with preferment, is loſt in the field, and in ſuch a country as India this partiality may be attended with fatal conſequences to thoſe who employ him. If general Carnac had had the leaſt ſpark of military emulation, he would immediately, on his being reſtored to the company's ſervice, have ſet out for the army with all expedition, inſtead of loitering away his time, ingloriouſly at Calcutta. A better opportunity he never could have had of retrieving his honour. Colonel Munro ſhewed him the way to

conquer,

conquer, and had his nag been encouraged by the hero's ſpur, he would have arrived in time to have taken the command of the army, when Colonel Munro left it, and ſhould have had the glory of finiſhing a campaign ſo well begun.

In love and in war, none can be ſucceſsful, without taking the occaſion by the fire-lock, otherwiſe the ſame opportuuity may never happen. It ſeems general Carnac, truſted every thing to fortune, and it was, perhaps, a commendable diffidence in him, to miſtruſt his foreſight, and his judgment; indeed his preſent inactivity was wonderful, and unaccountable, though it ſeemed inherent to his nature.

Sir Robert Fletcher, was ſenſible how precious time was in the field of action, and loſt not one lucky moment; ſo well did he improve the preſent conjunctures, that before the general reached the confines of Sujah al Dowlah's territories, that prince had been driven from his dominions and all his ſtrong holds were in our poſſeſſion.

The general found, that he had now nothing elſe to do, but to adjuſt the collection of the revenues for the company; it is probable he thought this part of the campaign which fell to his lot the more agreeable taſk; how far the general adjuſted the revenues to anſwer the amazing expences the Eaſt India company had been put to in this country, we leave to the inſpection of the proprietors of India ſtock; but thus far we can with certainty advance that the general who had declared himſelf worth the independant fortune of ſeventeen thouſand pounds, at the cloſe of the former diſgraceful campaign left India the following ſeaſon with 100,000l. and as general Richard Smith, ſaid of himſelf who had

had acquired a princely fortune with a *plumb* or two. Under his patronage, others accumulated an extraordinary wealth. One of whom the year before left the army with an intention to return to his native country with the moderate acquiſition of ten thouſand pounds; a combination of lucky circumſtances prevented him, and having ſerved as aid de camp to the major in the laſt campaign, he held the ſame ſtation in this, but played his cards with more ſkill and ſucceſs. He ſhewed himſelf an able financier, for he too went home the following ſeaſon with a fortune of upwards of ſeventy thouſand pound. Its a pity that ſuch abilities ſhould lay dormant, were they known to the premier, lord North, might give himſelf no further trouble in regard to the ways and means.

But to return, general Carnac on his arrival gave out the following in orders:

"At a general court of proprietors, held the 5th of May, 1764, it was unanimouſly reſolved that their thanks ſhould be given the officers and ſoldiers, who by their gallant behaviour, under the command of major Adams, were the means of ſaving the company's ſettlements in Bengal from immediate danger.

The commander in chief has the higheſt ſatisfaction in notifying the ſame, and makes no doubt the like honour will be confered on the army as ſoon as the good ſervice ſince rendered by, it is known at home."

The officers of the army would have willingly diſpenſed with the honour of the proprietors thanks, if the directors had continued to them that pay they had been long accuſtomed to receive; lord Clive,

and

and his ſecret committee, while they were publicly thanking the officers for their gallant behaviour, were laying a plan to deprive thoſe very officers of part of their pay, which was not more than ſufficient to ſupport them in ſo expenſive a part of the world.

The 15th, orders were given to the officer who commanded in Chunargurr, to get the breach repaired as ſoon as poſſible, and the perſon who had charge of the boats was ordered to hold them in readineſs, to tranſport the troops over the Ganges.

The 18th it was in orders.

"The commander in chief requeſts that the officers of the army, will wear round their arm the uſual mark of artillery mourning, as a juſt compliment to the memory of Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn, a perſon to whom the army is ſo much indebted; by applying to the quarter maſter, they will be ſupplied with a crape for that purpoſe."

The 19th. The artillery and magazine and captain Grant's battallion of ſeapoys croſſed the river and encamped upon a convenient ſpot near the water-ſide: the contractor with all his ſtores alſo croſſed.

The 21ſt. We moved our ground; and on the 25th marched towards Allahabad. "The officers are to take particular care that no plundering or ſetting fire to the villages, is committed in front, which is ſtrictly forbid under the ſevereſt puniſhment." Theſe orders were repeated the 5th of March with this addition; "That whoever is found guilty of it hereafter (plundering) if a follower of the army, will be immediately hanged on the ſpot,

if a ſoldier or ſeapoy, will be brought to a general court-martial and tried for his life."

March 1ſt, 1765. The army encamped on the banks of the Ganges oppoſite to Allahabad, where Sir Robert Fletcher joined us, leaving a garriſon in the front.

On the 3d. The general divided the army, and on the 5th he marched, leaving major Sir Robert Fletcher at Allahabad, with part of it under his command.

The day before we marched the following order was given out.

"The perſons who have hircarrahs with them, are to give in a liſt of them immediately, and captain Swinton who is appointed to take charge of that buſineſs, will ſupply ſuch officers as may have occaſion for them, on ſeparate commants for the ſake of intelligence; but where the commander in chief is, all intelligence is to paſs through him only. In future, hircarrahs wages and all demands for intelligence are to be paid by captain Swinton, that there may be but one hircarrah account."

The general having nothing to do, made a tour through part of the country. We firſt marched to Pampa, next to Taggadpoor, where we were informed that the "governor and council returned their thanks to the officers and the army in general, on occaſion of the ſurrendering of the forts of Allahabad and Chunar."

Then we marched to Barilley where we halted ſome time, and on the 23d we encamped at Cundianullah, where Baja Bene Bahadar, prime miniſter to Sujah al Dowlah, came unto us; he pretended to have left the nabob, as his affairs were deſpe-

deſperate: he therefore wiſhed the general would look upon him as a friend to the company, and employ him in the collection of the revenues; the rajah's ſcheme took: his true motives for coming to us, were to draw our attention from his maſter, until he could prevail on ſome foreign power to aſſiſt him; and in conſequence it was in orders.

The 25th. "Captain Galliez with his battallion, and two guns, with a proper number of artillery-men, &c. are to hold themſelves in readineſs to accompany an officer on the part of Rajah Bene Bahadar to aſſiſt him in the collection of the revenues of this country.

The general himſelf ſet out for Andè, the capital of Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, early next morning, taking with him all the cavalry, commanded by captain Graham, and a battalion of ſeapoys commanded by captain Nicol, as his body guard.

The army remained at Cundia Nullah until the 7th of April, when they marched firſt to Daudpoor, and then to Ometah, where they remained under the command of Major Stibbert until the 18th.

In the mean time, ſeveral detachments of ſeapoys were ſent out to aſſiſt people appointed by the general to collect the revenues. Lieutenant Martin was ſent to one part of the country with five companies, and enſign Strand with four to another. It is not improper to take notice here, by way of ſhewing my readers who are not acquainted with the natives of the Eaſt, what active men our ſeapoys or ſoldiers are, when commanded by an officer who they have an eſteem for. Enſign Shand marched

marched with the four companies under his command twenty coſs * a day for four days together, and left not one man behind, for which he received the thanks of the general.

When the over cautious general arrived at Fyzabad, the reſidence of the nabob of Oude, he lodged himſelf with his body-guard in the palace of Sujah al Dowlah, that fugitive prince whom he never durſt face in the field, and whoſe ſeat of empire ſhould have been better occupied, by thoſe who had vanquiſhed him. There the oſtentatious brigadier, fond of eaſe and pageantry, gave himſelf up to Aſiatic indolence and luxury, unmindful of the vigorous meaſures, he ſhould have purſued to retrieve his repeated diſgraces and unjuſtifiable blunders. Here Meer Sulyman, a moſt worthy, facetious, intelligent Aſiatic, who had been karſaman to Coſſim ally Cawn, late nabob of Bengal, was reduced to the humiliation of becoming the ſuitor to the general, whom he ſecretly deſpiſed for appearing in a triumphal pomp, on the muſnud of that prince, whom he had left maſter of the field. Meer's policy and ambition ſuggeſted him to make his offerings at the ſhrine of power, even ſo injudiciouſly beſtowed. He was rich and wiſhed to be employed. Captain Swinton, from his office of head hircarah (as appears by the general orders of the 4th of March) was no doubt, well informed of the abilities of Meer Sulyman, who threw in his mite of knowledge to make ſtill more frugiferous the general and his head hircarah's plumb trees. This gentleman on the concluſion of the treaty with Sujah al Dowlah, obtained from him a ſalary of five thouſand pounds a year; and was particularly

* A COSS is better than two miles.

larly recommended by lord Clive, to the nabob's favour, at the interceſſion of the general, who in this inſtance ſhewed his gratitude to the man who had opened to him the temple of fortune.

At this time, the general correſponded with Mr. Gentil, a French gentleman, who lived with Sujah Dowlah in great intimacy, and was truly a *ſecretis conſiliis*, that is, the ſame man, whom the company have ever ſince looked upon with a jealous eye, and have ſo many times attempted in vain to have removed from the nabob's preſence and councils, as their ſecret and natural enemy, whoſe abilities they dreaded, and whoſe influence might prevail on Sujah al Dowlah, to ſhake off their ignominious yoke. One of the chiefs of accuſation againſt Mr. Bolt, was his correſpondence with this formidable Frenchman, which ſtep was conſtrued into treaſon.

Monſieur Gentil was at that time endeavouring to bring about an accommodation between the company and Sujah al Dowlah, through the general mediation, who to do him juſtice, was more fit for a pacific negotiation, than to direct hoſtile meaſures. But the Morattas who were reported to be in full march to Culpee Gaut to enter the Herah province rendered fruitleſs theſe overtures.

The army under the command of major Stibbert on the 18th of April marched back to Doudpore, and the next day to Cundia Nullah; where the general having indulged himſelf long enough in the acting the nabob, rejoined the army.

They continued to march every day towards the enemy, encamping near ſome ſmall village, till the 24th, when they encamped at Barally, a town of ſome

ſome not, where they halted all day, and lodged all the ſick ſeapoys in the fort. The 27th, the army croſſed the Ganges, and the 28th they are encamped at Suragepore, the general thinking he could not at laſt avoid coming to action with the enemy, without raiſing the former clamours againſt that remiſneſs which was his characteriſtic, appointed the Captains Swinton and Hamilton, with Mr. Cobham, deputy commiſſary his aids de camp. And on the firſt of May gave out the following order. "The main force of the enemy conſiſting "only of Morattas who are commonly more "for plundering than fighting, ſeeking only for "an opportunity of falling upon the baggage, and "cutting to pieces the defenceleſs followers of the "army; the general recommends it in the "ſtrongeſt terms to the officers to carry no more "baggage, than is abſolutely neceſſary, and his "poſitive orders are abſolutely, that no ſoldier or "ſeapoy ſhall carry their women with them, but "ſend them over the river, where ſufficient guard "will be appointed for their ſafety."

I muſt beg leave to obſerve, that the general's obſervation in regard to the Morattes, who are commonly more for plundering than fighting, is alſo verry applicable to the major part of the commanders of the company's forces; and had our general felt his pulſe, I dare ſay, he was not ſo eager for an engagement, but he might have diſpenſed from the fighting part, could Sujah al Dowlah's treaſure have fallen into his hands, without that bloodſhed to which his humanity ſeemed ſo averſe.

Sir

Sir Robert Fletcher with his detachment, joined the army at Suragepore, and on the 2d, he and major Stibbert were ordered to do duty alternately as field officers of the day. After which, the order of battle, that was never intended, was given out, and then the order of march. The mens arms were alſo reviewed, and every thing got ready, as for action. The general thought the reſpectable appearance of his army, would be ſufficient to deter the enemy, and ſave him the trouble and the hazard of a battle; effectively his preparations anſwered his purpoſe. The next day the army advanced, but the enemy, as careful of their own preſervation, as their prudent followers, would not face them. This was a victory in the opinion of the general, and had been madneſs to purſue and provoke them to an engagement.

Sir Robert Fletcher with a detachment from the army exchanged a few ſhots with them, when the daſtardy Morattas galloped off the field. They had marched from the Rokille country down the banks of the Ganges to meet the army commanded by general Carnac. Sujah al Dowlah, was ſo incenſed at this inſtance of their cowardice and treachery, that he would not, nor has to this day paid them fifty lacks of rupees, which he had promiſed them for their aſſiſtance.

Thus the Engliſh general afraid to attack, and the enemy equally backward in the defenſive, gave equal proofs of their timidity and reſolution. One ſhould ſuppoſe, that thoſe who had reſtored Mr. Carnac to the command of the army, knowing that his ſkill conſiſted wholly in never committing his reputation to the uncertain events of battle, wiſh

wiſh for nothing elſe than the preſervation of the ſoldier, and never dreamed of an engagement, as long as this general remained on the field. It is worthy of obſervation, that this mock ſhew of a reſolution to attack the nabob happened the very day (the 3d of May twelve months,) when Sujal al Dowlah attacked general Carnac in his entrenchments, under the walls of Patna.

The ſixth, the army encamped at Georgemow, upon the banks of the Ganges. To the left of their encampment was a ſmall fort with wooden intrenchments. At firſt, it was unnoticed by the army; but one of the general's aids de camp, the intrepid captain Swinton, obſerving that it was garriſoned by a handful of men, who made fourteen in all, ſummoned the governor to deliver it up, which he refuſed to do, but on honourable conditions. This anſwer, which ſhould have entitled him to the reſpect and humanity of a generous enemy, enraged the furious aid de camp to that degree, that he whipped unmercifully his excellency back to his fort, as a ſpecimen of Engliſh clemency, juſtice and proweſs; the conſequence of this unmanly affront and provocation, for which the aid de camp, in a diſciplined army would have been diſmiſſed the military ſervice, was, theſe few brave men ſold their lives as dear as they could. And before the fort was ſubdued, we had more than double their number of our ſea-poys killed and wounded in this diſgraceful affair. The ſea-poys widows, friendleſs and deſtitute, had no other comfort in their anguiſh and grief, than to hear, that the garriſon was ſacrificed to the manes of their deceaſed husbands, and to revenge their wrongs; the mangled bodies

of

of the garriſon were thrown over the walls of the fort. The aid de camp, after this ſlaughter, cauſed by his raſhneſs and the indignity he had offered to a defenceleſs man, was obliged to bring two ſix pounders to blow the gate open, but even this he could not perform, as the garriſon had taken the precaution to barricade it. At laſt, Sir Robert Fletcher, the captains Goddard and Duffield, and ſome others, went into the ditch with a party of ſea-poys and bildars, and cut ſteps all the way up, as it was a mud fort; this was performed after ſome labour, and in a ſhort time, by this method, the fort was ſtormed at noon day.

Such are often the conſequences of want of ſubordination and diſciple in armies. When a general countenances, or at leaſt winks at the unjuſtifiable and ungenerous inſults of officers under his command, many brave men fall victims to the acts of violence and injuſtice committed by an individual, who is ſure to be ſupported. As the Morattas had not performed the ſervice Sujah all Dowlah expected from them, he renounced their alliance, and Mr. Gentil having renewed his correſpondence with the general, he paid him a perſonal viſit ſoon afterwards. By this gentleman's ſkill and dexterity, an interview was ſoon managed with the Nabob, and the preliminary of a treaty agreed upon. Indeed, Sujah all Dowlah, could have no objection to treat with general Carnac, who had been the moſt offenceleſs enemy the company had ever ſent againſt him; and he gave a new proof of his pacific diſpoſition to the nabob vizier, by his readineſs of enacting the treaty, his friendſhip, with a ſovereign, whom in fact he had never moleſted.

This treaty, however, was not ratified till lord Clive, who was ſaid to be a great phyſiognomiſt had reconnoitred then abob's complexion; when on the 16th of Auguſt it was confirmed on the part of the company, under his lordſhip's ſign manual. Lord Clive obſerved on this occaſion, that Sujah al Dowlah, was naturally a brave enterprizing prince; and if adverſity had not circumſcribed in time his aſpiring views, the poſſeſſions of the company in Bengal, and indeed thoſe of the Mogul himſelf, had been very precarious. He ſaw that he was a prince, proud, revengeful and warlike; and if the company would preſerve their acquiſitions, they muſt be careful for the future to give him no offence, particularly in regard to his independency of which he is remarkably jealous. As for ſeizing his territories, and reducing him either to the neceſſity of throwing himſelf into the hands of the Morattas, or to the nominal title of the nabob of Bengal; the firſt ſtep would expoſe Bombay to an expenſive and dangerous war with the Morattas, and the ſecond, would raiſe the jealouſy of the French, Dutch, and Danes, and engage them to join, to wreſt from us the empire of Hindoſtan. The nabob's remarks on lord Clive were, that he was a ſhrewd man, who could read into futurity; that he knew he was not ſo much indebted for his reſtoration to his lordſhip's juſtice and generoſity, as to his political views, and the honour he ſhould acquire in Europe, for making a Mogul and reinſtating the firſt ſovereign in Indoſtan to [illegible] dominions; and thus acquiring the reputation of equity and moderation, with the glorious title of the pacificator of the Eaſt.

On

On the 11th Major Stibbert was detached to chaſtiſe a rajah who was collecting the revenues of the Kirahabad province for himſelf, and had not acknowledged the ſovereignty of the company. The major had under his command his own battallion of ſeapoys, one commanded by captain Nicol, lieutenant Eyres with his raſſala cavalry, and lieutenant Calling with two ſix pounders. After the major had performed the ſervice he had been ſent upon, and had driven the rajah entirely out of the country, which, however was not done without an engagement, where we had a few men killed and wounded, and in which the rajah loſt Mangla Khawn, one of his principal officers, and ſome of his men killed and wounded; he cantoned the troops under his command during the rains at Lucknow.

The general, who had expreſſed a deſire of freeing the Korah province entirely of the Morattas, before he put the army into winter quarters. On the 15th iſſued out the following orders.

"The army is to be ready to march at a moment's warning, as it is not to go far and will be on the field but a very few days, no perſon is to carry more baggage than is abſolutely neceſſary.

Captain Hill with the battalion now under his command, is to remain on the ground for the protection of the boats and baggage, he is to be joined by the recruits and aukward men lately collected into a body under the command of ensign [illegible]." And on the 16th the army marched leaving behind the ſick Europeans and Seapoys under the care of Mr. Dunn, ſurgeon.

On

On the 18th. The following was in orders " A ſalute of twenty guns is to be fired at one o'clock in the afternoon on occaſion of lord Clive's arrival at Calcutta to take on him the charge of governor and commander in chief of Bengal, &c."

The 20th. The army encamped on the banks of the Tumna, oppoſite to Culpee.

A detachment was ſent over the river to lay ſiege to a mud fort, when the detachment went to ſtorm in the 22d in the morning, they found the enemy had evacuated it. The detachment then marched to another a little diſtance off, and found the enemy marching out of it; an action immediately commenced in which a great many of the enemy were killed, and we loſt a few men.

The enemy having been drove beyond the Tumna, and the rainy ſeaſons approaching, the general being under no apprehenſion of their returning this ſeaſon; he therefore next day put it in orders.

" Four hundred Europeans are to march off tomorrow morning with eight pieces of cannon, to follow at the day break eſcorted by captain Gallier's batallion of ſeapoys and a raſſalla of cavalry. The Europeans are to march off at 2 o'clock. The reſt of the army is to follow next day under the command of major Jennings."

On the 30th. The army returned to Georgemow, where they were immediately muſtered and paid. The ſick Eurpoeans and ſeapoys were then ſent down the river Ganges in boats to attack Illahabab fort.

" On the 6th, June 1765. The bombay detachment and pioneer company, captains Grant and

and Ironſides battalions of ſeapoys, the two Raſaula's of black cavalry, and eight pieces of cannon, are to march tomorrow morning at day break to Domanpoor, from whence they are to croſs the Ganges as ſpeedily as poſſible. Mr. Todd commiſſary is to diſpatch down the neceſſary boats for that purpoſe."

On the 8th. Captain Duffield's battalion croſſed the river, and on the 11th, and 12th, the reſt of the army croſſed at Domanpoor. And on the 14th, the army marched and arrived oppoſite to Allahabad the 25th.

The 26. The army was divided into three diviſions, one of which was cantooned at Allahabad, the other at Joanpore, and the third marched for Banaras, where they arrived the 4th of July.

General Carnac and the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, came down the river, from Allahabad, to meet lord Clive at Banaras, in conſequence the commanding officer there, orderedthe European troops, and a battalion of ſea-poys to march to the river ſide near the hoſpital; on the 21ſt in the morning and wait there for the arrival of the general.

On the nabob Sujah al Dowlah's landing, he is to be ſaluted with twenty-one guns. All guards are to turn out, as often as the nabob paſſes them, with reſted arms, the drums are to beat a march, and the officers are to ſalute. And previous to his lordſhip's arrival, the general gave out in orders the following regulations of honour to be paid,

"All guards are to turn out to major general lord Clive, as often as he paſſes; they are to reſt to him and beat a march, and the officers are to ſalute: all guards that mount with the colours of a regi-

regiment or battalion, are to ſalute his lordſhip with the colours: brigadier general Carnac, commander in chief of the army, is to be received with reſted arms, and the drums to beat a ruffle. In the abſence of Lord Clive, he is to be received with the ſame honours, (the ſalute of the colours excepted.) Colonels when not commanding in chief, are to be received with reſted arms and two ruffles of the drum. Leiutenant Colonels are to be received once a day with reſted arms. Majors are to receive the compliment of ſhouldered arms. General officers guards are not to turn out or pay compliments to inferior officers.

When the king paſſes any guard, he is to receive the ſame honours as lord Clive. All guards are to turn out to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, and pay him as often as he paſſes the ſame honours as lord Clive, (the ſalute of the colours only excepted). Copies of theſe regulations are to be ſent to the commanding officers at Joanpore, Patna, and all the ſubordinate ſettlements."

Lord Clive arrived at Banaras the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1765, he was received with a ſalute of nineteen guns at the Burn Nullah, upon the ſkirts of the town; and from thence, his lordſhip was eſcorted by Capt. Scotland's battalion of ſea-poys, to Mr. Marriots, which was fixed for head quarters. Here my lord was received by one captain, two ſubalterns, two ſerjeants, two drums, and forty-eight rank and file.

The ſame day general Carnac requeſted in public orders, that all the gentlemen would [illegible] major Jenning's quarters the next morning at ſeven o'clock, to be introduced to lord Clive; and the

the firſt act of his lordſhip, was the following order, inſerted with all the oſtentation of an Aſiatic nabob, G. O. Auguſt 3d.

" Orders by Robert Lord Clive, Baron Plaſſey, in the kingdom of Ireland; knight, Companion of the moſt honourable Order of the Bath, Major General and Commander in Chief of the Britiſh Forces in Bengal, Preſident of the Council, Governor of Fort William, and all the honourable the Eaſt India Company's Settlements, in the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar and Orixa, &c. &c. &c.

" A general court of proprietors having reſolved, that certain covenants ſhould be executed by all the officers in their ſervice, and the governor and council having received the ſtricteſt injunctions, from the court of directors, to put the reſolution of the ſaid general court in execution immediately, in obedience to their commands, it is ordered that the ſaid covenant be immediately executed.

And on the 7th, The officers at Banaras were ordered to meet at captain William Smith's quarters, in order to ſign the covenant. A number of them were ſent to Joanpore, Allahabad and other places for the other officers to do the ſame.

The negotiation of a treaty with the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, which had for ſome time been in ſuſpence, was now finally concluded and ratified by his lordſhip the 16th, of Auguſt 1765, at Allahabad, which conſiſted of eleven articles, as mentioned in page 355, firſt volume.

Thus

Thus we ſee the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa, which go under the name of the kingdom of Bengal, now in poſſeſſion of the Eaſt India company, add confirmed to them by the emperor of Hundoſtan, Shah Allum, on condition of their paying to him 26 lacks of rupees a year *, the uſual ſum paid into the royal treaſure by the nabob's of Bengal. We have ſeen Sujah al Dowlah's country conquered before his lordſhip's arrival in India, and we now ſee a former treaty broke through, and Sujah al Dowlah reſtored to his dominions for political reaſons. And at this time we ſee theſe kingdoms in perfect tranquility without a force in either of them, ſuppoſing them inclined to action fit to encounter a battalion of ſeapoys: even to ſuch extremities was Sujah al Dowlah reduced, that we were obliged to give him, at his own requeſt, a battalion of ſeapoys, to remain with him as a protection to his perſon.

Lord Clive it ſeems had poſitive inſtructions from the court of directors, to reduce the military expences by taking away part of the officers field allowance, called Batta, which had been firſt introduced by his Lordſhip, as a neceſſary allowance, when he far removed them from Europe commodities, and made the company's troops a mercenary band to dethrone one nabob, and ſet up another. We will now proceed with a detail of military regulations, which will ſhow that his lordſhip ought rather to be reprobated than praiſed for reducing the field allowance of a few individuals, which was certainly the intention of the court of directors, it ſhould be general, or allowed to none.

* See page 368, Vol. I.

There

There was not the leaſt hint given by his lordſhip when he informed the army on the 3d, that all the officers were to enter into certain covenants, that their allowance was alſo to be reduced. This was left to another opportunity.

The army on the 5th of Auguſt were ordered to be formed into three brigades: the firſt commanded by general Carnac; the ſecond by colonel Smith; the third by Sir Robert Barker, with a lieutenant colonel, major, ſix captains, one captain lieutenant, nine lieutenants, ſeventeen enſigns, thirty-ſix ſerjeants, thirty-ſix corporals, twenty-ſeven drummers and ſix hundred and thirty private, which are to be divided into nine companies; each to conſiſt of one captain, one lieutenant and two enſigns, four ſerjeants, four corporals, three drummers, and ſeventy private men each.

The ſeapoy battalions were formed into three brigades, each to conſiſt of ſeven battalions, one attached to each regiment. The artillery was formed into four companies, one to each brigade; the other ſtationed at Fort William. By this augmentation of the army, no leſs than one hundred officers were introduced into the eſtabliſhment in the courſe of a few months, and their *petits maitres* with a great ſhew of conſequence, filled the titles of their orderly books with, Orders by John Carnac, Eſq; brigadier general of the king's and company's forces, colonel of the firſt regiment of infantry, &c.

Orders by Richard Smith, Eſq; colonel in his Britannic majeſty's forces, and colonel of the ſecond regiment of infantry in the honourable company's ſervice on the Bengal eſtabliſhment;

for this vain man took care always to make the moſt of his titles. We cannot conceive what the &c.'s at the end of his lordſhip's titles alludes to, except to his being an Ormarah of the empire, for at that time his majeſty had not appointed him lord lieutenant to Shropſhire: and to carry on the oſtentatious farce as if thoſe who had the management of public affairs were run mad; every now and then the ears of the army were ſaluted with the firing of cannon, which by counting we could diſtinguiſh the ranks of the officers that had either left, or had joined the army. His lordſhip was honoured with nineteen, general Carnac with ſeventeen; colonels, fifteen; lieutenant colonels, thirteen, and majors eleven.

His majeſty Shaw Allum and Sujah al Dowlah, were honoured with royal ſalutes.

This our reformers called ſubordination, and by this vain profuſion the company was put to more expence for powder in a few weeks, to give the ſubaltern officers an idea of the great dignity of theſe military pedagogues, than they had been put to in this article the two laſt campaigns under general Carnac.

On the 23d, lord Clive returned to Banaras from Allahabad, and next day it was in orders, "His lordſhip has directed, that all the non-commiſſioned officers and private men, both artillery and military of the Bombay detachment, are to be immediately incorporated on this eſtabliſhment, and ſuch of their officers who can obtain permiſſion from brigadier general Carnac, commanding officer of the army, ſhall be received as youngeſt of the rank they now poſſeſs." Lord Clive ordered

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the ſecond brigade to Allahabad until Sujah al Dowlah had made good the ſixth article of the treaty. The third brigade was ſtationed at Patna, and the firſt at Mongheer: his lordſhip after this diſtribution of the troops, ſet off for Calcutta, and Sujah al Dowlah made a tour through his country to ſhew himſelf to his ſubjects. The nabob arrived at Lucknow the 9th of September, where major Stibbert was in cantonments with his detachment.

The major took leave of the nabob the 14th of September, and on the 16th marched for Allahabad to join his brigade, leaving captain Nicol with his battalion of ſeapoys as a body guard to Sujah al Dowlah.

His lordſhip had in his military regulations of œconomy, introduced immediately upon his arrival, and in the time of profound peace, more field officers to one brigade than the company had in all upon the eſtabliſhment a few months before. A farther account of the regulations with a few remarks thereupon ſhall be given in a future number. Had we the materials that a Meer Sulyman, a Meer Muſhalla, and a nabob, Moneer al Dowlah could furniſh us with in reſpect to the diſtribution of money matters, we might well inform our readers who paid for places they did, or did not enjoy. Moneer al Dowlah was old and political; he wanted a guard to protect his perſon in his old age: he therefore had four hundred ſtands of arms purchaſed from the Dutch chief of Patna, not by himſelf, but by an Engliſh commander; it is probable this has not attracted the notice of the Eaſt India directors, becauſe it was done by a general who acted without controul. There is no

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doubt but captain Swinton who was head hircarrah, and had the management of the intelligence, could give the court of directors as good and ſatisfactory information in reſpect to this tranſaction, as Mr. Vereſt, through his friend; Mr. Rumbold, gave the court of directors in regard to the affair of Mr. Peterie, which the court looked upon as an invidious and ill-timed piece of information; therefore paid no regard to it. Mr. Vereſt, this calumniator, has been endeavouring to make the court of directors and his friends believe his falſe minutes, which he entered in regard to another gentleman to ſerve particular purpoſes, and which he had been hammering at theſe ſix years; but time, which explores all things, will ſhew that all the evaſions, and little cunning of theſe petty tyrants, cannot hide for ever their iniquitous tranſactions from the knowledge of the legiſlature, and complete the ruin of many valuable members of the ſociety; which they flattered themſelves to oppreſs with impunity.

"To what are we reduced to? (wrote ſome time ago an honeſt ſervant of the company to his friend in England) the numberleſs evils intailed upon the Bengal provinces, and the inferior company's ſervants, by the new regulations civil and military, introduced by our deſpotic reformers, are beyond deſcription. Regardleſs of the rights of mankind, they trample under foot all divine and human laws, and if one applies for redreſs to a lawleſs court, this juſtifiable ſtep is conſtrued into diſobedience and mutiny, with the aggravation of forfeiting the advantages of many years faithful ſervices. Was you to ſee again this once flouriſhing

ing country you would think that Goths and Vandals had devaſted theſe provinces, and made it a dreary ſolitude, where the few famiſhed natives, who are allowed to breathe, exhibit all the horrors of thraldom and deſpair. There is no likelihood of their miſeries being alleviated, unleſs a revolution reſtores the enſlaved Indians to a participation of the privileges of rational beings. All is here in diſorder, confuſion, and anarchy: nothing but venality, rapaciouſneſs, monopoly, oppreſſion and injuſtice, except a few arrogant demogogues, who live in ſplendor, affluence and luxury, and divide among themſelves the products of the lands and all the fruits of induſtry; the reſt either ſubſiſt on a ſcanty allowance, or periſh of hunger. There is ſcarcely one of the company's ſervants civil or military, except the rulers, who is ſatisfied of his condition. They are precluded by the reformers, from the proſpect of ever returning to their native country, with a proviſion anſwerable to their long and faithful ſervices. Lord Clive has done more harm to the company and to the inhabitants of the peninſula, than it is in the power of ten of his ſucceſſors to remedy. Surely, the ſovereigns of Europe, who have ſettlements in Indoſtan, will not always tamely ſubmit to the dictates of upſtarts, who reſtrain their commerce and inſult their ſubjects. One ſhould think that the courts of directors for ſeveral years paſt, either have been totally ignorant of the management of their ſubſtitutes, or have winked at their depredations to have a ſhare in the plunder. As for my part, I vow as ſoon as I can ſettle my affairs, not to remain in this land of oppreſſion and wickedneſs one day more than I can help

help it. I am heartily tired of this cruel bondage, and I promiſe you, I ſhall never be tempted again to ſerve ſuch ungrateful maſters. This is become a military government; we keep an army, not to add to our conqueſts or to preſerve them, but to arreſt, impriſon, and compel the officers of the company to embark for Europe. The laſt campaigns of a certain general are truly laughable and ridiculous.

Adieu! may I ſee you ſoon."

At that very period a pamphlet was publiſhed in France relative to the preſent ſtate of their affairs in the Eaſt Indies, with ſome ſtrictures on the acquiſitions, and interior policy of the Engliſh company in Indoſtan.

"One of the moſt remarkable events of this century, ſays the author, and which is really alarming for all the commercial ſtates of Europe, is the ſovereignty which a ſociety of modern Carthaginians have uſurped in the Eaſt. Theſe monopolizers, not ſatisfied with excluding all the European nations from a ſhare in that valuable and extenſive trade, have depoſed, murdered, and kept in the vileſt ſubjection the inoffenſive and generous ſovereigns who gave them an hoſpitable aſſylum in their dominions. Were the powers who have eſtabliſhments on the coaſt of Coromandel, to make a common cauſe, to reſcue the princes and the miſerable ſubjects of the mogul empire from ſuch an intolerable thraldom, and to drive their oppreſſors from the poſſeſſions they have encroached, in reducing them to their primitive obſcurity and inſignificancy; this would be conſidered as an act of public juſtice and humanity, productive of the moſt

moſt ſalutary effects in regard to France, and her commercial views. The ceſſion of Canada and ſome unhealthy iſlands, are no other loſs than nurſeries of hardy ſeamen. If we conſider that England has purchaſed theſe conqueſts at the enormous ſum of eighty millions, theſe proud conquerors are greatly the loſers by ſuch acquiſition. As for the Eaſt Indies, I hope France has not, nor never will loſe ſight of this wealthy ſpot. The great and almighty lord Clive, owes all his ſucceſs and his reputation to the ſupineneſs of the French, and the injudicious meaſures of the governors and commanders of their forces, inadequate to the rigorous efforts that Great Britain purſued, to be the miſtreſs unrivalled of this part of the Eaſtern globe. From the knowledge I have acquired of the diſpoſition of the Indian princes and their ſubjects; I anſwer, that fifteen thouſand men ſent at different times to the iſlands of Bourbon and Mauritius under an able commander, for fear of giving the alarm to our jealous neighbours, will eſſentially anſwer the purpoſe of ſubduing the Engliſh natives, not to ruin and diſtreſs them, but to aſſiſt and protect them againſt all invaders. I would make a temporary treaty with the Moratta's, as their alliance is not to be depended upon, but may anſwer the purpoſe when we are ready to ſtrike. None but gentlemen of the military profeſſion, ſhould be appointed to the government of the factories with a ſtanding army, able to cope with the Engliſh, and to awe the natives. The capital fault of our government was to intruſt to men ignorant of the art of war, our moſt important ſettlements on India; they had the policy to divide the country powers, but were

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incapable to make uſe of the *ultima ratio regum*. We muſt not expect to be joined at firſt by the puſillanimous and dejected princes of the peninſula, who will not declare themſelves, till we have vanquiſhed their arrogant maſters; but, I will venture to affirm, that none of them will afford them any aſſiſtance, whilſt a French army can protect them from their reſentment, and that they will gladly ſubmit to the victors whom they will look on as their friends and their deliverers. Theſe are the only means of retrieving the loſſes of France in the laſt war, and this monarchy will never be truly great till it has acquired and ſecured the undivided empire of Indoſtan, the king acting as paramount over a republic of princes, who from his moderation and equity muſt expect the return of Alcyon days."

Projects,

For the re-eſtabliſhment of the French Eaſt-India company, offered to the conſeil royal of commerce, with the ſanction of count de Maurepas and Mr. de Sartine, ſecretary of ſtate, and miniſter of the marine, to which department belongs the commerce of the Iſle of Mauritius and Bourbon, and of the Eaſt Indies.

Whilſt Great-Britain is on the eve of a civil war with her ſtubborn and reſolute children in America, and embroiled at home in domeſtic diſſenſions, ſinking gradually into the loweſt ebb of national diſgrace, exhauſted by conqueſt and luxury, and governed by puſillanimous councils, France cannot fail of ſucceſs, if ſhe avails herſelf of her rival diſtracted ſtate to retrieve her ſuperiority and the reputation of her arms, in extending her commerce

merce and her navigation. Her empire on the Continent requires no aggrandizement; the cold and inhoſpitable regions of Canada are no longer an object of her ambition, all her views muſt be turned towards the Eaſt Indies, and all her ſtrength muſt be exerted for becoming the arbiter of the Carnatic.

The diſcouragement we have met in divers attempts to ſettle in Madagaſcar, far from obliging us to give up all hopes of future eſtabliſhment on this iſland, ought to ſtimulate our moſt vigorous efforts to have the command of this important channel, through which all European ſhips in their voyage to and from India, generally ſail, unleſs pervented by ſtorms.

It is a pleaſant, deſirable and fertile country, abounding in ſugar, honey, wines, fruit-trees, vegetables, valuable grains, corn, cattle, fowls, precious ſtones, iron, ſome ſilver, copper, ſteel and tin. It is watered with numerous rivers, well ſtored with fiſh. The air is generally temperate, and very healthy, though in a hot climate. Thoſe who inhabit the coaſts deſcended from Arabs, may be eaſily reconciled to our ſettling there, in benefitting them by the grant of commercial advantages and privileges, and making them ſenſible that the forts we ſhall erect are calculated for their protection, as well as for our own defence, againſt the negroes with whom they are in a ſtate of perpetual war. I ſhould propoſe to have a chain of forts on the paſſage between the iſland and the Cape of Good Hope, garriſoned with five thouſand men, commanded by an able and experienced officer, whoſe talent and ſtudy ſhould be to pleaſe the white

natives, without the leaſt encroachment on their rights and property, inſpiring them at the ſame time with a favourable opinion of our juſtice and moderation. No doubt, but the maritime powers will interfere, but as we have in France a great number of ſpirited adventurers, who with the proſpect of making a fortune, would gladly engage in this enterprize. We may get a conſtant ſupply of men ſufficient to protect us from inſult and moleſtation.

The iſland of Bourbon, which lies about three hundred miles Eaſt of Madagaſcar, has many good roads round it for ſhipping, particularly on the North and South ſide. As the climate here, though extremely hot is extremely healthy, being refreſhed with cooling gales, that blow morning and evening from the ſea and land; I would have kept there a numerous garriſon, fit to act on any emergency, and a ſquadron of men of war, except during the monſons, when ſhips cannot ride ſecure againſt the hurricanes, and coaſting along ſhore is dangerous. The iſland abounds in brooks and ſprings, and in fruit, graſs and cattle, with excellent tobacco, alloes, white pepper, ebony, palm and other kinds of wood: many of the trees yield oderiferous gums and raiſins, particularly benzoin of an excellent ſort, and in great plenty. The rivers are well ſtocked with fiſh, the coaſt with land and ſea tortoiſes, and every part of the country with horned cattle, as well as hogs and goats. The woods are full of a great variety of birds pleaſant to the palate. Thus plentifully ſupplied by nature, and ſtill capable of great improvements conducive to all the conveniencies of life, this iſland which is

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ninety miles round, can maintain a little army in health and vigour, ready to co-operate in ſtriking the great blow offered to your conſideration. The iſle of Meuritus, which has a hundred and fifty miles in circumference, with a fine harbour, capable of holding fifty large ſhips, ſecure againſt any wind that blows, and a hundred fathoms deep at the entrance, is ſtill more fit for the rendezvous and ſtation of a powerful fleet, with a conſiderable body of land forces. The climate is extremely healthy and pleaſant: this iſland is watered with ſeveral pleaſant rivers well ſtocked with fiſh, and the ſoil of late fertilized, yields plenty of tobacco, rice, fruits and ſeeds, with a great number of cattle, deer, goats and ſheep; ſo that in regard to the climate and the productions, it is well adapted to a French conſtitution. Theſe two iſlands garriſoned with twelve thouſand men, will effectually anſwer the purpoſe. Theſe with an addition of eight thouſand men embarked in different ports of France, acting in concert, landing in three diviſions at Pondicherry, Callicut and Rajapore, on the Coromandel and Malabar coaſt, headed with three general officers of tried abilities, will at the ſame time take the field in the Carnatic and the kingdoms of Golconda and Viſapour, which lay open and defenceleſs. As Golconda is a moſt valuable acquiſition, on account of the colour of its diamond mines, the cheapneſs of its proviſions, and its excellent white wine; it will at once throw into our hands the richeſt materials of commerce, and ſupply our army with excellent proviſions of all kinds, whilſt the kingdom of Viſapour equally fruitful, which yields a yearly revenue of ſix millions

lions ſterling to its king, will leave his treaſures at our diſcretion. At the ſame time, the poſſeſſion of the little kingdom of Tanjore lying to the Eaſt of Madura, the ſoil of which is rich and fertile, will render us maſters of the pearl fiſhery upon its coaſt. As within it lies the Daniſh ſettlement of Tranquabar, and the Dutch fortreſs of Negapatam, I would recommend a ſtrict injunction to the armies to protect theſe ſettlements who cannot annoy our operations, and whoſe friendſhip and neutrality, as well as that of the Portugueze, ſettled at St. Thomas, Monguilore, Dundee, Shoule, Raſſaim and Salſette: In ſhort, far from encroaching upon their territories, our policy ſhould be to inlarge them, and thus ſecure their friendſhip and alliance. Now as the main force of the Engliſh in the peninſula is deſtined for the preſervation of the provinces of Bengal, their military eſtabliſhment for the preſidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay, which conſiſts in part of ſeapoys, being too inconſiderable to face an army of veterans in the field; I would neither attack their forts at leaſt the firſt or the ſecond campaign, nor invade the provinces of Orixa and Bengal, too wide diſtant, but cut off all communication, and all the commercial reſources which they derive from the interior parts of the Carnatic and the kingdoms of Viſapour and Golconda, ſatisfied to ſhut them up in their ſtrong holds. The places I propoſe to garriſon, in order to remain maſters of the interior country from Cape Conor to the Ganges are Madura, Tanjore, Conymea, Biſnagar, taking at the ſame time poſſeſſion of the diamond mines of Realconda.

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As the Engliſh who aim at the commercial ſupremacy of the univerſe, have raiſed the envy of other nations, none of the maritime powers, who can afford them aſſiſtance, will ſtir in their favour. The Indian princes will exult at their diſaſters and humiliation, and all their efforts to drive us from that rich country between the Coromandel and the Malabar coaſts will prove unſucceſsful, if the commanding officers give to their ſubalternsa noble example of moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, refraining from all acts of violence and rapaciouſneſs, and keeping their army in ſtrict diſcipline and ſubordination. It is not unlikely that the Engliſh government might at the expiration of the royal charter granted to their company, take into their hands their territorial acquiſitions, and reduce them to their original inſignificancy; in that caſe, the conqueſt of the kingdoms mentioned before, would meet with more oppoſition and difficulties, as the crown would have a more immediate intereſt in the preſervation of theſe provinces, if annexed to it: conſequently this important enterprize muſt take place whilſt the Engliſh company remain in poſſeſſion of the Bengal provinces, and have neither power, nor aſſiſtance from the government ſufficient to fruſtrate our deſigns.

The grand plan will be to make an alliance offenſive and defenſive with the Mogul, to reſtore him not only to his ſupremacy, but to help him to ſubdue all the nabob's and rajah's who have taken advantage of the troubles of the empire, to make themſelves independent, and to reduce them to their original ſtate of tributary vaſſals; and the Ganges becoming the boundary of his empire, he will

will have a great acceſſion of power and territories by the ſubduing without aſſiſtance the provinces of Bengal and the nabob of Oude. And in this manner the peninſula within the Ganges being divided betwixt the French and the Mogul, the natives will be reſcued from the ſtate of abjection, in which they are kept by a number of petty tyrants, oppreſſive and rapacious. After theſe atchievements, I would keep an army of twenty thouſand regular and well diſciplined Europeans in conſtant pay, for the preſervation and ſecurity of theſe dominions. All the military eſtabliſhment and civil officers, with all expences for erecting fortifications, or keeping them in repair, to be paid by the king of France, from certain revenues ariſing from demeſnes allotted to his majeſty, with a conſiderable ſhare in the diamond mines, collected by proper officers appointed by him.

Thoſe who intend to become proprietors of the new company, to pay each fifty thouſand livres to defray the charges of the expedition, and fifty thouſand livres more for a joint ſtock, in conſideration of which they will enjoy all the excluſive advantages ariſing from commerce; they are to build their magazines, and ſtore houſes at their ſole expence, to build yearly a certain number of ſhips, and to provide with proper officers and ſeamen for the voyage. The ſale of the Eaſt-India goods will be at Port Loirent, Nantes, St. Malo, &c."

Whether this plan has been approved of in every point, is doubtful, eſpecially as the landing of twenty thouſand men is attended with many difficulties, beſides the obſtacles they may meet in their paſſage. Indeed the Engliſh company's military eſtabliſh-

bliſhment in Bengal conſiſts of but twelve battalions, as ſufficient force in times of peace and ſafety; but inadequate to the number which the French may perhaps if unmoleſted, ſend into the Eaſt Indies. No European power ever ſo formidable, can make a rapid conqueſt of theſe provinces, without the concurrence of the regimented natives, who deſpicable as they might have been repreſented, are inured to the viciſſitudes of that climate, and extremely uſeful for information.

Whoever obſerves the maxims of government of the Engliſh company, ſince they are become the ſovereigns of Bengal, muſt acknowledge that they are diametrically oppoſite to thoſe which they ſhould have purſued for their preſervation. They have raiſed againſt them the clamours of all the European powers ſettled on the Coromandel and the Malabar coaſts, and diſguſted the country powers to that point, that they will ſecretly connive, if not openly eſpouſe the cauſe of an invader, with the hopes that new hoſtilities may occaſion a happy revolution: even lord Clive foretold, that if the territories acquired were not carefully attended to, they would fall a prey to the arms of France.

Notwithſtanding the titles and honours which the king had beſtowed upon the heaven-born general, his lordſhip ſtill aſpired higher, and when at Bath in 1770, opened his mind on that ſubject to a commoner, who has great intereſt at court, and was lord C—'s boſom friend and confidant.

The noble lord having introduced the converſation on the political debates of the lower houſe, obſerved that indeed miniſters or men who had the talents of orators, found their accounts in being

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the people's repreſentative's, and that even moſt peers by their friends or relations were deſirous to preſerve a parliamentary influence; that for his part he would not give up this laſt point, if he was removed to the upper houſe; but as he had no particular views for himſelf, he confeſſed he looked upon a peerage as an object of temptation, for a gentleman of a conſiderable fortune; becauſe this hereditary honour, in giving weight and adding luſtre to a family, was almoſt a ſure proviſion for the younger branches in civil or military capacity; that if the honourable gentleman to whom he freely imparted his thoughts, could by his intereſt and his connections, procure him that additional dignity, he ſhould ſhew him his gratitude in whatever manner, he ſhould pleaſe to mention. The commoner ſtarted at firſt ſome difficulties, very likely to enhance the price of the favour; but a ſelfiſh conſideration made him at laſt promiſe that he ſhould make application to a perſon who had always a free, though not a public acceſs to the throne, and that in the courſe of a few months, he would be able to give lord Clive an anſwer.

Effectively the gentlemen ſoon waited upon the inviſible agent, who was the moſt likely perſon to ſucceed in this tranſaction. But the anſwer from that quarter was, "Your employer knows to whom you intended to apply, and though I might ſucceed, was I to go to the fountain of titles and honours, as I having taken the reſolution not to ſollicit any favours, when any perſon can gueſs that I have been inſtrumental in obtaining what he wiſhes for: I decline to appear in this affair: however, as I would not have lord Clive think, that I am not his

friend for certain reaſons, which I ſhall explain you: I would have you apply perſonally to —— who knows you have my approbation in any thing that you aſk for yourſelf or your friends.

In regard to my motive for wiſhing that lord Clive ſhould entertain a favourable opinion of me, I will impart you my deſign of providing for one of my younger ſons, better than the —— himſelf can.

You know in ſuch a country as this, wealth is the only diſtinction amongſt men; whoever is rich can obtain for himſelf and procure to his friends ſeats in the legiſlature; he can aſk titles and honours, and make himſelf revered, even with moderate talents as a demi-god.

The experience we have had lately of men ſuddenly emerged from obſcurity, after a reſidence of ten or twelve years in India, makes me ſenſible, that it is now the only ſoil, where a young man, who has ſpirit and connections can thrive. The gentlemen at the head of adminiſtration, and of his majeſty's council, provided for as moſt of them are, cannot be put into competition in point of the rapid fortunes acquired by the company's principal ſervants, with the governors of their preſidencies and the members of their council. If ſo many upſtarts without merit, intereſt or connections, merely for having ſerved the company a certain number of years, are returned to their native country with accumulated treaſures; what cannot expect a youth of liberal education, and of illuſtrious progeny, whoſe friends have the beſt connections and perhaps the firſt intereſt in the kingdoms with the managers of the company, at their

devotion. As lord Clive, in ſpite of his enemies, ſtill preſerves a great aſcendency over the ruling ſervants of the Bengal provinces; I will ſend my ſon to the ſeat of this commercial empire, and with all the advantages of his birth and expectations, procure him powerful letters of recommendation from lord Clive, and ſome of the acting directors, which cannot fail of having the deſired effect. This plan met with the approbation of the noble lord's creature, who a few days after had an opportunity to make an overture, conducive to lord Clive's ambitious views.

The anſwer was in the negative, with ſome mortifying reflections, on lord Clive's preſumption.

That a man who went originally to the Eaſt Indies as a writer to the company, and who by a concurrence of lucky accidents, made a fortune to which no prince of the royal blood could aſpire, with titles and honourable decorations, fit for a man of noble extraction, ſhould ſtill raiſe his views to an Engliſh peerage, was an inſult on many worthy perſons, who had ſerved the crown in high capacities, and not obtained that honour.

After this declaration, lord Clive was obliged to drop his deſign, and his friends his ſolicitations.

The noble lord having failed in his ambitious ſchemes, renewed his amorous purſuits; he was devoured at Bath by what the French called *ennui*, and to diverſify it, employed one of his agents in that honourable department, to ſound the inclinations of a ſprightly Iriſh widow, who it was ſuppoſed, had come to Bath to engage in a ſecond wedlock, provided ſhe could find a man who might anſwer her deſires and expectations. Mrs. —, who

who is now in this metropolis, ſupported by the voluntary contribution of ſome old debauchees, was reckoned about five years ago a handſome woman, ſuſceptible of the ſame ſenſations, which ſhe was capable to inſpire. As ſhe is of an eaſy acceſs, his lordſhip's plenipo, by his aſſiduities and attention ſoon gained her confidence. The lady having obſerved his intimacy with her noble admirer, made him the ſubject of her inquiries.

"It ſeems ſir," ſaid Mrs. —— that you are particularly acquainted with lord Clive, I have heard ſo many divers reports in regard to his lordſhip, that really my curioſity leads me to beg, you will indulge it, if not inconſiſtent with your connections with him."

"Madam," replied the gentleman, "a long acquaintance with his lordſhip, has fixed invariably my regard and my attachment to him; as for the different accounts you have had, reſpectively to his public and private character, a man who has acted ſuch conſpicuous parts on the grand theatre of this world, muſt expect to have as many cenſors as admirers. I have no objection to anſwer any queſtions you will be pleaſed to aſk me, as I know all my anſwers, without partiality, will prepoſſeſs you in his favour, had detraction and malice prejudiced you againſt him.

"As for his political and military conduct in India," continued ſhe, "that's not properly the ſubject of a woman's diſquiſition. What I deſire to know, is the uſe that he makes of his immenſe fortune, his ſocial virtues and his private foibles. If riches can make men happy, his lordſhip's felicity muſt be complete. But I have obſerved, that he

ſeems

ſeems gloomy and thoughtful, inſtead of having that open and chearful countenance, which indicates interior content and a ſerene mind."

"If you pleaſe to obſerve, madam, that his conſtitution has been impaired, by campaigns and forced marches in a burning and unhealthy climate; you cannot be ſurprized that after many toils and fatigues, he ſhould not have the vivaciouſneſs and levity of a young man nurtured at home on the lap of eaſe and luxury. He is undoubtedly one of the moſt wealthy ſubjects in Europe, and no man has done more acts of beneficence and charity, with leſs oſtentation. He is liberal, compaſſionate and generous; and if he has foibles, they are of a kind inherent to our nature, and he may fairly impute them to theſe impreſſions, which amiable women are almoſt ſure to make upon a man of feeling."

"I have heard, indeed," replied ſhe, "That he is a man of gallantry, though I ſhould not have thought ſo by his appearance: beſides, as he is a married man with a family, having paſſed his meridian, I hope for the honour of my ſex, that none would accept of his lordſhip's propoſals, but perſons who have no reputation to loſe."

From my own knowledge, I can aſſure you, that he is a good father and a civil husband; indeed his lady is an agreeable, ſenſible woman; but with all her accompliſhments ſhe cannot expect to have a phœnix in her husband.

You, madam, who are converſant with the polite world, muſt know that amongſt married people of quality, a man who has but one favourite, is reckoned in our age continent and virtuous.

"I can-

"I cannot ſay," anſwered ſhe, that I ſhould like to be the wife or the favourite of ſuch a man: but pray, if you do not think the queſtion improper, Who is now the lady, that has the occaſional preference? for I ſuppoſe the ſucceſſion of his amours has been very rapid.

I muſt do him the juſtice to ſay, that he is not inconſtant, when he finds a perſon worthy of an attachment. At this time I know, he has no ties but thoſe of the national kind; and there is actually a lady at Bath, whom he admires above all the women he has ever ſeen at home or abroad.

"So I find," replied Mrs. —— "That you are the confidant of his amours." "No otherwiſe," anſwered he, "than I heard him ſay the other day, that he could not forbear envying the felicity of the man, who ſhould ever be poſſeſſed of ſo many charms; adding, that ſhe was the moſt beautiful woman he ever beheld. I have only two more queſtions to aſk, continued ſhe, "Has he put the ladies with whom he has been connected above the frowns of a mercileſs and cenſorious world? Do I know the lady you ſpeak of, and is ſhe a perſon of character? He anſwered theſe queſtions in the affirmative, but poſtponed the diſcovery, till another opportunity.

As the ladies have commonly much penetration in theſe caſes, Mrs. —— who was not a lady of ſevere virtue, and had a great intuition into the hearts of men, with the ſuggeſtions of her vanity, aſſiſted by lord Clive's attentions, gueſſed that ſhe was the object of his lordſhip's purſuits; and as her finances were rather low, ſhe ſaw in the favourable account ſhe had heard of his lordſhip's generoſity,

ſity, a proſpect of being ſoon extricated from her difficulties. As ſhe had received intelligence that my lord intended to leave Bath in a fortnight, there was no time to loſe; at the ſame time Mrs. —— knew that men were apt to deſpiſe an eaſy conqueſt. In this dilemma, ſhe thought my lord's plenipo was the moſt proper man to negociate an amorous treaty with his lordſhip, without incurring the imputation of too ready a compliment to his deſires; ſhe had an opportunity to converſe with him, in the rooms that very evening, whilſt his lordſhip was engaged at a party at whiſt, having loſt three games ſucceſſively, he declared that he was the moſt unlucky man upon earth, and retired to his apartments in diſguſt.

"Well, madam," ſaid his agent in addreſſing Mrs. — "have you found out the lady, whom his lordſhip has ſingled out among the fair ſtrangers, who now reſide in this place." Though ſhe was pleaſed at the queſtion, ſhe bluſhed and betrayed little *embarras*, which, however, was of ſhort continuance. "Indeed, Sir," anſwered ſhe, "to be candid with you, I have obſerved that "his lordſhip has been rather particular to me, but "really I am afraid of ſuch a connection, eſpeci- "ally if my reputation was to ſuffer without any "real advantages, to make me amends." "I "underſtand you, madame," anſwer the faithful agent, "and to ſave your delicacy the diſagreeable "taſk of explaining yourſelf further on this ſub- "ject, I will take upon myſelf to adjuſt the treaty; "which I dare ſay will be ratified to the ſatisfac- "tion of both parties."

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The ſubſtance of it was, that my lord ſhould pay down three hundred guineas, to acquit ſome debts, Mrs. — had contracted at Bath, and to enable her to provide a decent houſe in London, to receive the viſits of his lordſhip.

She was to leave Bath immediately, and the conſummation was deferred till the firſt interview of the two lovers in the metropolis; in caſe their connection ſhould not continue above one month, his lordſhip was to give the lady three hundred guineas more, on their ſeparation. The articles of this treaty were reciprocally performed; my lord went to town two days after her new ally and confederate, and found her according to the direction ſhe had ſent to a place agreed upon in Knight's-bridge. Their intimacy continued only one fortnight, at the expiration of which, he parted from her as a man of honour, punctual to his engagements. Now Mrs. —— who had found in lord Clive an *amoureau tranſi*, looked for one who in pecuniary matters was not to be compared to his lordſhip, though preferable to him in natural abilities. After ſhe had ſatisfied her fancy, ſhe ſought for ſupport amongſt gentlemen of the mercantile profeſſion, and having ſecured a comfortable annuity from them, does not confine herſelf to their cold embraces.

By recent advices received from the Eaſt Indies, through the channel of a Portugueſe ſhip, our ſettlements are threatened with a powerful invaſion, both on the Malabar and the Coromandel coaſt. Shaw Allum, the mogul made by lord Clive, and Sujah al Dowlah reſtored to his dominions by the ſame influence, have actually entered into a treaty offen-

offenſive and defenſive, with the Morattas to wreſt from the ravenous Engliſh, as they call them, the ſovereign dominions they have uſurped from the country's powers. It is conjectured, that the French, Dutch and Portugueſe have jointly kindled the reſentment of the confederates, and that they will ſecretly abet their hoſtile operations, if prevented by policy to give them an open aſſiſtance, as both the natives and the Europeans have been great ſufferers, by the late revolutions cauſed by the Engliſh, and the iniquitious meaſures they have purſued ever ſince to oppreſs the Indians and annoy the trade of all foreign nations; they cannot expect to find an ally in the peninſula of Indus, to ſave them from ruin and deſtruction. This account is more alarming at this critical time, when the Americans have drawn the ſword in their defence, and the government uncertain of the diſtination of the great armaments of Spain and France, cannot ſpare their forces to protect the company's ſettlements. It is aſtoniſhing that the attention of the legiſlature of this kingdom, has not been awakened to the dangerous conſequences of temporary expedients, ſubſtituted to a conſtitutional and permanent ſyſtem of government in the Eaſt Indies, which, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid or written concerning the company's affairs, and the oppreſſive maxims of adminiſtration of their ſervants, have not yet met with any effectual redreſs or reformation. If the great acquiſitions of the company deſerved the attention of the mother country, ſhould not proper meaſures have been adopted for the ſecurity of thoſe dominions, ſurely the knowledge which the members of the legiſlature have had the opportuni-

tunities of obtaining, from the late inquiries, was at leaſt ſufficient for forming a right judgment of the danger within and without, to which theſe poſſeſſions are expoſed, and of the remedies neceſſary for removing ſo many dreadful evils and glaring abuſes, or to prevent the utter ruin and total loſs of this commercial empire. A fatal experience, will, I fear, ſoon convince the nation of their managers ſupineneſs and errors, for having neglected the information they had received, as it ſeems the time is come that we ſhall be deprived of the reſources of an immenſe commerce, and probably of the poſſeſſion of the very Aſiatic territories, now become the objects of our rivals envy, and of the implacable hatred of our natural enemies. Surely the importance of the eaſtern empire, ſhould have rouſed Great Britain from its lethergy. It is a matter of the moſt weighty concern, to take all judicious meaſures, that human policy can dictate, to fruſtrate the deſigns of our rivals in commerce and dominions, in regard to the Eaſt Indies. The Aſiatics ſettled within the territories of the company, are undoubtedly his majeſty's ſubjects, as well as the Britiſh emigrants eſtabliſhed in India. Though the pernicious ſyſtem of the nabob makers and greedy reſolutioniſts ſhould have never met with the ſanction of a well regulated and equitable government; as they caſe is, we ſhould have made the natives as well as the Britiſh ſubjects, forget the horrid ſcenes of rapaciouſneſs, cruelty, injuſtice and devaſtation, which have reflected on us a laſting diſgrace, by a proſperous adminiſtration at home and reſpectable abroad; for notwithſtanding the prevailing notions of the caſe with which immenſe

fortunes have been acquired in theſe parts, from the examples that have been lately exhibited, there are at this time in Bengal many poor and induſtrious Britons, deprived even of the means of getting an honeſt livelihood by their beſt endeavours, who are deſerving the maternal care of their native country. The condition of his majeſty's ſubjects, has been really worſe than that of the Aſſiatics, as the retroſpect of the freedom they were entitled to, is an aggravation to their miſery, they have been ſold to the leaders and unprincipled chiefs of an incorporated trading ſociety for the ſum of four hundred thouſand pounds per annum. Much more valuable and permanent advantages might have been derived from thence with equity, as well as with reputation to government, while the preſervation and interior proſperity of theſe Aſiatic dominions might have been ſecured in the happineſs of the inhabitants only, and the commercial intereſts of the deluded proprietors fixed on a ſolid baſis.

It was not to be expected that the country powers would always tamely ſubmit to the injuries and indignities offered to them by a ſociety of mere traders, confined by charter to the employment of ſix ſhips, and ſix pinnicles yearly; that this company become ſovereigns of extenſive, rich, and populous kingdoms, to which they have no legal title, ſhould ſway in Indoſtan uncontrouled and unrivalled.

They have proved that if they had the craftineſs and policy to gain valuable acquiſitions, they had not the ſagacity required to preſerve and enjoy them. In this new ſituation of a mercantile ſociety, ſo widely different from its original inſtitution, even their

their true commercial intereſts have been entirely miſunderſtood or neglected, and ſcarcely any public ſpirit has appeared among their leaders, either in England or India. Wealth and plunder have ſtimulated the ruling paſſions of their civil and military officers; all their ſolicitude was confined to accumulate lacks of rupees, and to provide for their children, needy relations or dependants, at the expence of the wretched inhabitants of the ſubjected dominions. Theſe have been the maxims of the chief of the company on both ſides the ocean. Thus Aſia has experienced under a commercial aligarchy, the ſame fate it underwent, when ſubdued by triumphant Rome, and fell a prey to rapacious merchants, as it had to the ſpeculation of Roman proconſuls.

The oſtentatious ſervants of a trading company, after having imbrued their hands in the blood of the defenceleſs natives, and laid waſte to this once flouriſhing empire, to ſerve their mercenary and iniquitous deſigns, have returned to England loaded with the ſpoils of ſovereigns dethroned and nations oppreſſed; where intrenching themſelves in borough or Eaſt-India ſtock influence, they have ſet juſtice at defiance, either in the cauſe of their country or injured innocence.

It is obvious to every rational being that the acquiſitions of the Eaſt India company are become an object of the utmoſt importance to this nation, which it is to be feared may be involved in great difficulties, whenever the Indian dominions are loſt, or whenever they are ſo impoveriſhed as to render the poſſeſſion of them improfitable. Bengal and the provinces comprehended under this denomination are entirely

entirely commercial countries, which can only flouriſh while trade is free and proſperous, the principles of which are invariably the ſame as in all climates; but ſince the affairs of Bengal and its dependencies have taken a ruinous courſe, Great Britain has been expoſed to national diſgrace, without reaping any advantage from the company's depredations. It is evident, that thoſe countries cannot proſper while the company continue there undiſturbed in their ridiculous claims of a commercial ſovereignty; were it even poſſible, without altering their unconſtitutional government, to free their affairs from the numberleſs inconveniencies ariſing from the diſtance, between the ſeat of direction and the ſubjected provinces; the miſinformation or ignorance of proprietors and directors, the fluctuating ſtate of parties; the conſequent, abſurd and contradictory orders which are continually ſent out to India, and the want of due power in the company for controlling the ſervants abroad, which power can never be given to them conſiſtently with the imperial dignity of theſe realms, will multiply the evils and grievances, inſtead of redreſſing them.

Monopolies of all kind are in their natures unavoidably pernicious, but an abſolute government of monopoliſts, ſuch as that introduced by lord Clive, and purſued ever ſince by his ſucceſſors, muſt of all be the moſt dreadful. The Eaſt India company could not flatter themſelves that the native princes could ſee without indignation the ſoil, revenues, adminiſtration of juſtice and interior government of thoſe countries entirely in their hands without check or controul. The prince whom they call mogul, though reduced to the cruel neceſſity

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to implore their aſſiſtance, will no longer be the mere inſtrument of their power, and be ſatisfied with the ſupport of a ſecure penſion, for ſerving their own private purpoſes, than he can otherwiſe reaſſume by force of arms his authority. Neither the Europeans nor the natives are the dupes of the farce exhibited by nabobs of Bengal, who are the actual ſtipendiary ſervants of the company, and the deſpicable inſtruments of their tyranny. They are ſenſible that the dewannee, under which title they pretend to hold thoſe territorial poſſeſſions, is a mere fiction, invented to countenance their monopolies and extortions, and particularly intended to impoſe on the Britiſh nation, and to ſecure the ſovereignty of the country againſt domeſtic attempts and hoſtile invaſion; though the diſguiſe was too flimſey to deceive either the inhabitants of Indoſtan or other European nations, who have ſettlements in theſe countries. All the world knows that there is in Bengal no freedom of trade, in regard to the natives or foreign nations, though it is impoſſible that commerce ſhould ever be flouriſhing and importantly beneficial to the Britiſh ſtate, without a free intercourſe. All branches of the interior Indian commerce, are without exception, monopolies of the moſt oppreſſive and ruinous natures, and ſo totally corrupted, from every ſpecies of abuſe, or unjuſt reſtrictions, as to be in the laſt ſtage of ſtagnation. Civil juſtice has been eradicated, and millions left at the mercy of a few rapacious men, who divide the ſpoils of the public among themſelves; while under ſuch a cruel diſpotiſm, ſupported by military violence, the whole interior country, where neither the laws of England

reached,

reached, or the cuſtoms of theſe countries were permitted to have their courſe, is worſe than in a ſtate of nature, as the pretended civilization introduced into theſe wretched provinces, is calculated not to relieve, but to diſtreſs the miſerable inhabitants.

In this melancholy ſituation, whilſt the poor induſtrious natives were oppreſſed beyond conception, population has been decreaſing, the manufactories and revenues haſtening to decay, and Bengal, which uſed not many years ago to ſend annually a tribute of ſeveral millions in hard ſpecie to Dehly, has been reduced to this extreme want of circulation, that it is not improbable the company's white ſervants in Calcutta, have already been neceſſitated, in one ſeaſon to draw above a million ſterling on the directors, for the exigencies of their trade and government, will ſoon be in want of ſpecie in Bengal to pay their troops, and have been pleading in England incapacity to pay the very annual four hundred thouſand pounds, which government has a right to demand.

The natives of Bengal, whoſe miſeries was a few years greatly encreaſed by a calamitous famine, having long looked up in vain to this nation for relief, and bewailed their ſlaviſh abjection, have been rendered deſperate in the purſuit of redreſs, and ready to join head and heart with the firſt power that ſhall happen to attack the Engliſh in theſe dominions.

Let thoſe who place their ſecurity in the pretended indolence and effeminancy of the natives, recollect that they have learned from us, after repeated

peated defeats, to fight and to conquer. Theſe very natives now fight our Indian battles; they have ſometimes vanquiſhed our enemies without a ſingle muſket being fired by our European troops, to whom they have on many occaſions ſhewn themſelves no ways inferior in perſonal courage. Perhaps, we owe the preſervation of our eaſtern acquiſitions to the exaggerated fame of our paſt atchievements; and the power of the Engliſh in India, will ceaſe to be formidable, as ſoon as it becomes well underſtood.

The ſame cauſes will ever produce like effects in all countries: the many muſt in time get the better of the few, by the ſame means whereby a handful of men conquered numerous armies. We know that the moſt deſpicable reptiles will turn when trod upon; and hiſtory abounds with inſtances of nations driven into madneſs by the cruelty of oppreſſion.

The company's ſervants ſhould have purſued the more laudable object, as moſt worthy of a civilized nation, celebrated for its humanity, to ſecure the hearts of the natives, by an impartial diſtribution of juſtice, and by the encouragement given to populouſneſs and induſtry. Had not the natural antipithy of the Mahomedans and Hindoos, favoured the eſtabliſhment of the European invaders, and ſecured their poſſeſſions, none of them ſhould have oppreſſed ſo long the natives with impunity; and if the Engliſh had let juſtice hold the ſcale, their ſuperiority might perhaps have been for ages maintained.

As we have obſerved before, the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Oriſſa, which the company collect, were on Lord Clive's arrival in India,

dia, eſtimated to amount to upwards of three millions ſix-hundred thouſand pounds ſterling per annum; and by proper managent they might with eaſe have been improved by this time to ſix millions. Beſides, England might have derived immenſe commercial advantages from thoſe territories; but, at preſent, under the ridiculous plan of a double government, they are every way exhauſted by plunder and oppreſſion; and while this nation is gazing after the fruit, the company and their ſubſtitutes are ſuffered to be rooting up the tree.

The different intereſts of the company as ſovereigns of Bengal; and, at the ſame time, as monopolizers of all the trade and commerce of theſe countries operate in direct oppoſition, and are naturally diſtructive of each other, the governor's ſelect committees and councils of Calcutta, have purſued without controul, the moſt pernicious ſyſtems, by which the poſſeſſions in Bengal have been beggared, and this kingdom deprived of reſources, which might have contributed to raiſe it to a ſtate of proſperity and power almoſt beyond example.

An unlimited power can ſcarce exiſt without oppreſſion, and governments, when at a great diſtance from the controlling power, are naturally ſubject to a corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice; none have ever exhibited greater proofs of the tyrannical diſpoſition of men, when inveſted with unqueſtionable authority, than ſome of the chief ſervants of the company in India. The meaſures that ſhould have been taken, at the concluſion of the late peace, for the prevention of ſuch evils, and for eſtabliſhing the permanent proſperity of the

ſub-

jected provinces, could never be expected from the company, particularly while it continued with a conſtitution ſo defective and ſo unadequate to the preſent allured ſtate of its affairs.

It was the wiſdom and the power of the legiſlature alone that could have prevented the total ruin or loſs of the Bengal provinces, either of which misfortunes might now prove fatal in its conſequences to this kingdom. This could have been affected, by enacting ſalutary laws, for ſecuring the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice throughout theſe dominions; for preventing the commiſſion of thoſe oppreſſions and irregularities, which have of late years prevailed, to the diſgrace of a Britiſh government; for effectually puniſhing in India the authors of ſuch enormities, and for improving with permanency thoſe reſources, which the nation had aright to expect from theſe valuable acquiſitions. Such laws would have equally tended to promote the deſirable object of regaining and ſecuring an intereſt in the hearts of the ſubjected natives, who expected protection and happineſs from a Britiſh ſovereign; in which ſtate of things this nation might have long poſſeſſed the Bengal provinces, even againſt the combined efforts of Indian enemies and European rivals.

All pleas of the company grounded on ſuch charters as are not wholly conſtitutional, ſhould be treated with the contempt they deſerve, when conſtrued as a defence for obſtructing theſe inquiries, or preventing the moſt effectual intervention of parliament, for ſecuring theſe grand objects of true national policy, the wiſdom of the legiſlature ſhould have alſo eſtabliſhed due ſecurity againſt any

unconſtitutional influence of military power, as it has proved equally ruinous to theſe countries, the company, and this kingdom.

Many having lately perſuaded the public to believe, that we may ſecurely rely on the paſſive and reſigned diſpoſition of the natives of the acquired countries, and the timid diſpoſition of Indians in general, for our ſecure poſſeſſion of their provinces; it may be neceſſary at this juncture, to ſhew ſuch opinions to be enormous; and that the preſervation of them muſt depend more on our wiſdom and juſtice, than on our military and maritime power.

There can be no juſt grounds for our ſuppoſing there have not at all times been people of valour in India, it is well known that many of the Indian powers have large and well diſciplined native armies, of both horſe and foot ſo likewiſe the ſeapoys in the ſervice of the Engliſh Eaſt India company are brave, well trained, and able bodied men, perhaps no people have more diſtinguiſhed themſelves by fortitude and reſolution, in a variety of ſufferings, than the Eaſt Indians. The ſeverities of their voluntary religious penances are almoſt incredible; they have frequently ſubmitted to be maimed, nay, would often die under torture, rather than diſcover concealed wealth to the ruin of their families, even their very women, who live ſequeſtered from the world, and of coarſe are unexperienced in ſuch difficulties and misfortunes as ſerve to fortify the mind and heart, or ſuch troubles as will render life irkſome, or impel to deſperation, often manifeſt ſuch fortitude as amazes Europeans; they voluntarily brave horrid deaths,

when burned alive with the dead bodies of their huſbands on funeral piles.

There are ſeveral nations in India, now living under diſtinct governments of their own, who never were ſubdued by the moguls, though indeed moſt of them at times, have been their tributaries. They, however, never were able to make the Marattas either their ſubjects or their tributaries. Theſe people are governed by an ariſtocracy of rajahs of the Hindoo religion, who for many ages have done more than defended themſelves, for they have impoſed tributes on moſt of their neighbours; and at laſt even obliged the famous mogul Aurengzebe to ſubmit to the mortifying and diſhonourable terms of paying them, a chout or annual tribute, of the fourth part of the revenues of the Deckan, ſo that it might be ſaid, the emperor thereby not only acknowledged their independency of himſelf, but likewiſe their joint right of ſovereignty with him over thoſe provinces that produce the revenues, out of which the chout was paid.

This chout, or tribute was continued to be received by the Marattas, from the mogul, even long after the revenues of the Deckan provinces had ceaſed to be paid unto the royal treaſury at Dehly; for, in the year 1740, when the deputies of the king of Sittarah arrived as uſual at Dehly, to receive the chout, they were told by the mogul's miniſtry, "that Nader Shah, had lately ſo "exhauſted the treaſury, that the emperor was "rendered utterly incapable of ſatisfying their "demands, the more eſpecially, as the revenues "of the Bengal provinces, had been with-held from "the

" the year 1738, by the rebellion of Allaverdy
" Khawn, who in conjunction with his brother
" Hagee Ahmed, had uſurped the government of
" that Subadahry; they requeſting at the ſame
" time, that the deputies would entreat their maſ-
" ter in the emperor's name, to ſend an army of
" ſufficient force to exact the amount of the chout
" that was due to them, and alſo to take the heads
" of Allaverdy and his brother, and reſtore the
" family of Sujah Kawn to the ſubahſhip; as the
" diſtracted ſtate of the empire put it out of his
" power to ſend a force ſtrong enough to reduce
" the two rebels."

Thus power was given to the Marattas by a real mogul, upon the loſs of the Deckan, to levy their tribute on the Bengal provinces, in lieu of what they had received as their chout from the Deckan revenues. But the truth was, the revenues of both ſubahs were alike loſt to the mogul; ſo that his miniſters may be ſuppoſed to have given ſuch an anſwer merely to get rid of a troubleſome demand, though even made without juſtice. However, the Marattas excepted of the transferred pledge with the ſervice annexed to it, which had the appearance of giving them likewiſe a new title to their chout, and they accordingly proceeded to act from thoſe powers for both purpoſes. An army of eighty thouſand horſe was expeditiouſly ſent by them into the Bengal provinces, under the command of Boſkar Pundit, who after explaining the nature of his powers, demanded of the uſurper Allavardy Khawn, " three years of the chout, the treaſury of the two late ſubahdars, and that in future an officer of their own ſhould have a ſeat in

every

every cutcherry throughout the provinces, to collect the fourth part of the revenues on their behalf. Theſe demands being refuſed with extreme indignation, preparations were of courſe made for a deciſion by arms: the firſt conſequence of which was, that Allavardy found himſelf in ſo dangerous a ſituation, as with twenty-five thouſand Patna and Bengal ſoldiers to be neceſſitated to force his way deſperately through the whole Maratta army, and make a fighting retreat from Burdwan to the oppoſite ſide of the river at Cuttah; which he affected in three days, with the loſs of all his men, except five and twenty hundred Patnas and fifteen hundred of his Bengal forces. During the continuation of this war, which was to the latter end of the year 1747, one of the brothers, Hagee Ahmed, was put to death in a very cruel and ignominious manner. The other, Allaverdy Khawn, though not unſucceſsful in the field, after performing many extraordinary exploits, from immenſe profuſions of blood and treaſure, found it neceſſary to purchaſe peace of the Marattas with the ceſſion of the Cutttah, and the payment of an annual chout of twelve lacks of rupees (150,000l.)

The Engliſh Eaſt India company have ſince got poſſeſſion of Bengal, Bahar, and ſo much of Oriſſa as had been preſerved by the latter nabobs; and there have been negociations entered into by their ſervants with Maratta Rajahs concerning the chout; in conſequence of which the court of directors were informed from their preſident and council in Bengal, under date of the 5th of January 1768. That they had aſſembled an army at Berar; and by diſpatches of the 29th of the following month, they were

were farther adviſed, that "The preſident ſince Mahommed Reza Khawn's arrival in Calcutta, had in conjunction with that miniſter had ſeveral conferences with the Maratta Vakeel, or agent, on the ſubject, who aſſured them that his maſter would not liſten to any accommodation for the ceſſion of Cuttah and conſideration for the cheat, on any other terms than the annual paymant of ſixteen lacks of rupees (200,000l.) to be accounted for from the time the company took charge of the Dewannee of theſe provinces, and the ſelect committee on their behalf; to be guarentees for the nabobs faithful performance of the treaty. In ſupport of the propriety of theſe demands, here cited, the promiſe made to his maſter by Mr. Vanſittart, in in the year 1763, of paying all arrears of the chout on condition that he did not join his forces to the troops of the nabob Coſſim Ally Khawn; and laid much ſtreſs on the aſſurance given him by lord Clive, that when ever the treaty ſhould be concluded with them, the annual ſum ſtipulated for, ſhould commence from the time the company were inveſted with the Dewannee of the provinces. After many debates, the Vakeel conſented, with aſſurances of his maſter's concurrence alſo; that the rents which have been collected in Oriſſa during the above period, ſhould be ſet againſt the annual arrears which he demanded.

By ſuch agreements (proceed the governor and council) and a proper examination of their accounts, the arrears will be conſiderably diminiſhed; and although we muſt expect, from the diſtracted ſtate of the Maratta government, that they have not collected the whole amount of the revenues of

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that province, yet we have reaſon to believe, that under your government, and the immediate inſpection of your ſervants, they may in time amount to, if not exceed the annual tribute demanded.

As this was a matter which we deemed of the higheſt importance, ſo it has engaged our moſt ſerious attention. When we conſider the many benefits which muſt naturally reſult from thus uniting the company's teritories on the coaſt with your valuable poſſeſſions in Bengal; a ſtep which will complete the chain of your influence and dominions, from the banks of the Caramnaſſa to the fartheſt extremity of the coaſt of Coromandel; a meaſure that muſt tend ſo greatly to the preſervation of both ſettlements, by their mutual ſupport which at all times it will enable them to give to each other; the removing at once every pretence of the Marrattas from diſturbing the peace and tranquility of theſe provinces, and the ſhock it will give to their ſtrength and power, whenever it may be found neceſſary to ſeparate ſo principal a member as Janoogee, one of their moſt formidable chiefs, who during the courſe of his negociations, has expreſſed an earneſt deſire to enter into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with us. All theſe conſiderations having been attentively weighed and debated in committee, we reſolved to acquieſce in the propoſals of the Vakeel, and to bring the treaty to as ſpeedy a concluſion as poſſible. The preſident has accordingly ſignified our aſſent in a letter to Janoogee, and has requeſted of the nabob to agree to it on his part.

Thus we ſee negociations were long ago on the carpet between the Marattas and the Engliſh

Eaſt India company, not only for the re-eſtabliſhment of their chout, or tribute, but even for the payment of arears from the time of our acquiring theſe territories. What has been farther done in theſe matters, we pretend not to ſay; but it is known in India, and the company has received advice from thence, that there are important points which the Marattas have in view, and that they will perſevere in the purſuit of them.

The Marattas are in poſſeſſion of a very extenſive country, and their huſbandmen and manufacturers, are on their milita eſtabliſhment, being all bred to arms, and heretofore entirely cavalry, they are enterpriſing from long practice, and ever ready to march out of their country to ravage the territories of, or impoſe tribute on their neighbours, or for any other purpoſe. They are naturally cruel and ferocious, inſomuch, that their rapaciouſneſs often prompt them to maim and maſſacre as well as lay waſte extenſive territories; they often torture to extort diſcoveries, when they think treaſures are concealed.

They are grown of late much more formidable. In the expedition above-mentioned, in 1742, they almoſt inſtantly marched an army of eighty thouſand horſe into the Bengal provinces; the remains of which being obliged to retire the next year to their own country, two more armies each of ſixty thouſand horſe, were directly ſent on the ſame ſervice, and their point was at laſt carried. They are univerſally acknowledged to be, by far, the moſt powerful of all the Hindoo nations. They have ſhewn they were greatly an over-match for Hyder Ally; and, as of late years, they have been form-

forming an infantry, which will become a regular force; ſhould they make it numerous and well diſciplined, they will ſoon be able at any time to ſwell their numbers to what degree they pleaſe, as according to an exact calculation, no leſs than one fourth part of the natives of Indoſtan, taking the country throughout, are ſoldiers of fortune, who from diſcontent, or for the ſake of plunder, will be ever ready to join them in any undertaking, from which advantage can be expected; ſo that a great military power in India, may at any time be ſoon formed. Therefore, the ruling powers in this kingdom ſhould be always greatly on their guard, leſt an ignorant and iniquitious adminiſtration in India ſhould provoke the natives to an univerſal defection, and ſeek for relief and protection under the ſtandard of theſe ravagers.

From the plunders and miſeries which the natives of Bengal have experienced, from frequent changes of maſters, and the entire want of legal protection and juſtice, no doubt can be entertained, that the moſt valuable people in theſe provinces, who are the huſbandmen and the manufacturers, would quietly ſubmit to any government that ſhould treat them with more humanity, and particularly follow their avocations, as long as they find themſelves able to ſubſiſt by their labour and their induſtry. But whenever that end cannot be obtained, they will certainly ſeek refuge from intolerable miſery, by any kind of deſperation.

The ſingle object which an oppreſſed people have in view, is to free themſelves by any means from the preſent tyranny, and to truſt to chance for whatever may follow: and we ſhould be very

weak to ſuppoſe the people of Bengal can ever want inſtigators to an inſurrection, or ſupporters to a revolt.

Great Britain, by theſe acquiſitions, is expoſed to the ſhafts of envy, of the powers of Europe and Aſia, who will not ſcruple, either ſeparately or jointly, by any means whatever, to deprive her of poſſeſſions of ſuch importance.

Thus it appears evidently, that there is a native power now in India, which may be conſidered at this time as extremely formidable to the company; being maſters of a great part of India, and by late acquiſitions, in actual poſſeſſion of the greater part of Oriſſa, which they now hold as a pledge, and which to be re-annexed to the company's dominions, muſt in effect be purchaſed by the payment of arrears: and the company's ſervants muſt likewiſe be ſureties for the payment of an annual tribute in future, of two hundred thouſand pounds only, becauſe demanded of them by an Indian nation, dreaded on account of its power and vicinity.

Such is the precarious ſtate of the Britiſh dominions in Bengal, entruſted to the care of the company's mercenary ſervants, whoſe government has been rendered hateful to the natives by oppreſſions, has occaſioned the emigrations of myriads of people, is in general odious to all the Indian princes, diſguſting to many European powers, and tyrannical in the extreme, towards their reſident fellow ſubjects. From all theſe and other circumſtances, mentioned in the courſe of this hiſtory, let the judicious and the impartial judge of the degree of ſecurity the ſtate can have in theſe poſſeſſions, that

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the moſt oppreſſive conduct and the worſe policy have deprived of all means of defence and reſources, in caſe of an invaſion from potent rivals.

It is conjectured that theſe warlike and numerous tribes of Morattas, whoſe bold and active ſpirits have ſo often ſpread terror and deſolation in Hindoſtan, have engaged by a treaty with the mogul, to begin hoſtilities in the Bengal provinces, in conſequence of their claims of the fourth part of the revenues ariſing from this ſubahſhip; that they will increaſe their demands in proportion to their ſucceſsful depredations; and probably bid defiance at laſt to the king of Dehly himſelf, in inſiſting on the abſolute ceſſion of the commercial empire, ſhould they conquer it by force of arms.

Shah Allum the preſent king of Dehly, and the vizier Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, having politically been reconciled, and forgot for their reciprocal intereſt. Their mutual injuries, look upon their former treaties with the company as extorted from neceſſity, and no longer binding than the firſt opportunity that ſhall offer to recover their independency.

The mogul who would have granted away the remainder of his empire, for the ſake of a ſubſiſtence and the ſecurity of his empire, whilſt in the hands of the company's ſervants, has changed his tone, and the ambitious views of his miniſters and counſellors, ſince his return to Dehly ſeem bent on reſtoring him to the abſolute power and dominion of Hindoſtan, with the hopes of ſharing without fear or controul his increaſed wealth and authority. They have repreſented to his majeſty, that if fortune had reduced ſo low the greateſt monarch

narch of the Eaſt, as to become the penſioner of a company of traders, with the ſcanty allowance of twenty-ſix lacks for his expences and the ſupport of his dignity, with the limited poſſeſſion of Corra, and part of the province of Illahabad, out of theſe extenſive and fruitful dominions to which he had an indiſputable title, and part of which the company had uſurped in the troubles of the empire, and holding the ſubahſhip of Bengal under his ſanction, now that he could make a powerful alliance to renounce his engagements with a tyrannical mercantile ſociety, and free himſelf and his oppreſſed ſubjects from an ignominious bondage, all the world would admire his ſpirit and magnanimity; as he was not left to the free management of even theſe diſtricts, and the ſtipend which were ultimately allotted to him; nor of his mints and his ſervants.

In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, they have pointed out to him an alliance with the nabob of Oude, and the Moratta's; the firſt as a ſpirited prince equally averſe to the Engliſh yoke, and whoſe aſſiſtance was worth the ceſſion of a province or two; the Moratta's, as a warlike enterprizing nation, who looked upon the Bengal provinces as part of their property, and no doubt would make good their claims, in attacking at once that part of Oriſſa which belongs to the company, and their ſettlement in the iſle of Bombay. Having thus encouraged this weak and indolent prince to free himſelf from ſuch an inglorious dependance, a long manifeſto in Perſian language has been diſperſed through all the provinces of the empire, of which

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the ſubſtance from a Portugueze tranſlation is as follow :

" Shah Allum the invincible king of the world, &c. To all the Subahs, Rajahs, Zemindars, Hindoos, and all faithful and loving ſubjects of our empire, greeting.

The univerſe ſtill reſounds with the warlike exploits, wiſdom and magnanimity of the invincible Toemoor Lung, who conquered Hindoſtan the 800th year of the higera of our holy prophet.

Babar, one of his illuſtrious deſcendants got poſſeſſion of Dehly, now my imperial reſidence, and ſeating himſelf with the unanimous acclamations of his new ſubjects on the throne of Hindoſtan, was properly the founder of our great empire in India, which has continued to flouriſh for near three centuries, with various degrees of fortune, ſplendor and proſperity.

All the world knows that the principles of the Mogul government have been ſo moderate and mild, that while the empire was ruled by the ſovereigns of this heroic race, before the Europeans had preſumed to aſpire to ſhare the ſovereignty of their royal benefactors, no people upon earth were more happy and proſperous than the bleſſed ſubjects of this empire. The court of Dehly always appeared ready to give every kind of encouragement to the commercial intercourſe of other nations, with the natives of Hindoſtan, and was equally inclined to favour any commerce, which their own ſubjects had diſcovered a propenſity to proſecute with diſtant countries, without diſti ction

on of ſect and nation, as the toleration of the Mahomedan government never precluded on account of religion or country, the Indian ſubjects, or thoſe who traded with them, from any benefit they could derive from commerce.

All people who went to deal in India, found welcome, and indulgence from the ſovereigns of the country, who give an equal encouragement to the ſpirit of foreign commerce, as to the manufactures eſtabliſhed by the natives of India; which had invited many ſovereigns of diſtant climes to ſend their ſubjects, to exchange the products of their country with the fruits of our ſubjects induſtry. Such was the caſe, in reſpect to England; the great queen Elizabeth, and her ſucceſſor obtained for the merchants, adventurers of that iſland all the protection, that the ſovereigns of a civilized nation could grant to Aſiatics; notwithſtanſling our royal progenitors could have eſtabliſhed in their dominions a maritime power, which muſt equally have added to their political importance and national ſtrength. Such was their confidence in the good faith of European powers, that they neglected eſtabliſhments, which though dictated by ſound policy, might have given umbrage and implyed ſome miſtruſt of the foreign merchants trading on our coaſts. Their ideas of the advantages reſulting from manufactures, induced them to give ſuch encouragement to the Europeans, as to diminiſh conſiderably their own revenues, by this indulgence.

The lands of Hindoſtan were principally the property of the moguls, and almoſt the whole of their income aroſe from the rents of them; the

reſt of their revenues conſiſting of little elſe than a few low rated port and inland duties. Yet ſo very attentive were they always to the manufacturing intereſt, and of courſe to the welfare of their people, that in the proſperous times of the mogul government, the rents of their lands were always kept extremely low; though of late years, the rates of them have been tripled by the uſurpers of Bengal.

The ancient laws of Hindoſtan, indeed prohibited any advancement of the rents of the lands, on thoſe who really occupied them; nor could the agreements be violated that were made with ſuch tenants, ſo long as they continued their regular payment; which ſurely may be conſidered as remarkable inſtances of royal attention to the welfare of the ſtate, the happineſs and effectual protection of the people, and of extraordinary moderation in abſolute princes, eſpecially in ſo intereſting an object as that of their royal revenues; for theſe rents were made to anſwer almoſt every purpoſe of taxation for ſupporting the eſtabliſhments of a ſplendid court, and of a great empire. Such was the wiſe and benignant internal policy, and ſuch were the humane and juſt laws of the Eaſtern ſovereigns. By theſe regulations, proviſions were rendered cheap, and as there were no kinds of burthenſome levies on the people of Hindoſtan, the rates of all labour were conſequently very low; ſo that manufactures were thereby ſo favourable in prices, that they forced their own ſale into the remoteſt part of the globe; which cauſed ſuch treaſures to ſtream from all quarters, into thoſe countries that produced them, as kept Hindoſtan enriched

riched beyond comparative examples in the records of time. The pernicious innovations introduced ſince, by a rapacious mercantile ſociety, with a total change of a policy admired by millions benefited by it, have of late years as rapidly impoveriſhed the provinces of this diſtracted empire.

In order to encourage the purchaſe of ſuch manufactories, the ſovereigns of Indoſtan manifeſted equal wiſdom and generoſity in granting to foreign traders, their royal firmauns of exemption from the payment of all duties, which was leſſening another branch of the revenue, for the generous purpoſe of promoting public proſperity; the reverſe of which has been lately practiſed either by the ignorance or tyranny of proud and cruel uſurpers.

It muſt have been then the fault of the Hindoo people, and not of the government, that India did not many ages paſt, figure as much in commerce abroad, as in manufactoring at home; ſhe might not only have acquired the valuable arts of the European nations, many of which ſhe is yet much in want, but probably ſuch maritime power as might have effectually protected her againſt any nation on that element.

The exemptions from ſuch duties to favour a beneficial trade carried on by foreigners, were certainly wiſe meaſures; as were likewiſe the fixing low import duties on this neceſſary or uſeful; and more eſpecially they ſerved to promote a mutual traffic, which, upon the whole, had been found to be extremely profitable.

But

But ſo entirely did the principles and manners of the Hindoos prevent their viſiting foreign countries, that not only all their diſtant maritime commerce, but even their traffic by caravans from the back parts of their own country, together with moſt of their coaſting, and much of their inland trade were proſecuted by foreigners. To which cauſes muſt have been greatly owing their weakneſs in paſt times, and their preſent wretched ſubjection to a body of the trading ſubjects of one of the moſt diſtant potentates on the globe. Indeed a free intercourſe with remote countries would not have leſs tended to ſtrengthen them as a military than a maritime power; becauſe all the great improvements, which in late ages have been made in the art of war, were of European invention.

That the mogul empire, in the days of its ſplendor, was one of the richeſt and the moſt extenſive in the world, is indiſputable. The revenues of Hindoſtan, whilſt in its flouriſhing ſtate, before the invaſion of Neder Shah, in the reign of Aurengzebe, as ſpecified to have amounted to thirty-ſeven millions ſeven hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen pounds ſterling.

It appears that the yearly revenue of Shah Saleem, ſon and ſucceſſor of the great Akbur, was rated at fifty millions ſterling.

The ſubahs, or greater government, were rated as follows, according to the computation at the court of Dehly by Dams, which are reckoned at forty for each ſtandard on Sicca rupees, and each rupee at two ſhillings and ſix-pence.

Subah's	Pounds Sterling.		
Dehly - - -	3,818,594	3	6
Agra - - -	3,583,625	10	0
Azmeer - - -	2,038,579	5	0
Illahabad - - -	1,426,697	13	0
Panjab - - -	2,581,661	16	8
Oude - - -	1,007,274	10	0
Multan - - -	670,134	3	6
Caboal - - -	503,248	0	0
Caſhmeer - - -	718,473	2	4
Guzerat - -	1,899,529	3	6
Bengal - - -	1,639,488	5	0
Bahar - -	1,272,378	2	6
Oriſſa - - -	3,358,178	17	6
Saind - -	286,927	10	0
Dowlalabad - -	3,234,203	9	0
Malva - - -	1,262,192	13	6
Berar - - -	1,918,828	2	6
Khandeiſh - - -	1,401,969	0	0
Bedr - - -	1,165,545	0	0
Hyderabad - - -	3,479,250	0	0
Vizapore - -	3,369,703	2	6
Dams 12,071,876,840	£. 87,724,615	2	6

We beg leave to make here a little digreſſion.

Every perſon well acquainted with Hindoſtan will allow, if the above ſum found its way into the king's treaſury at Dehly, that it may with a moderate calculation be admitted; twice that ſum at leaſt was collected from the tenants or husbandmen. The revenues of the lands are very nearly in a quadruple proportion to the rents of them. By revenues is meant the ſum paid to the ſovereign, and by

by rents, the ſum paid from the original cultivator of the ſoil, in eſtimating them at only half the value the rents of the lands amount to upwards of ſeventy-five millions four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, for the annual produce in the beginning of this century.

When Nadar Shah invaded Dehly about the beginning of the year 1739. The throne of the emperor Mahommed Shah, known throughout Hindoſtan by the name of Tukhte-Taoos, or the Peacock Throne, as taken by that conqueror, was valued at ten crores of rupees, or above twelve millions and a half ſterling; which together with the other regalia, treaſure, and valuables, that Nadar and his nobles carried away with them, amounted in the whole to no leſs than eighty millions ſterling. The computation of the damage otherwiſe done to the capital and its inhabitants on this occaſion, is ſcarce credible. The manifeſto continues as follows:

"The purity, ſtrictneſs, and equity of the ancient Hindoſtan government, inſpired all foreign nations who reſorted to this great empire, with awe and veneration. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people were inviolate; here no robberies were heard of either private or public: the traveller, either with or without merchandize, on his entering Hindoſtan, became the immediate care of government, which allotted him guards without any expence, to conduct him from ſtage to ſtage, and theſe were accountable for the accommodation of his perſons and effects.

"The laws of Hindoſtan were wiſely inſtituted as barriers againſt oppreſſion, and continued in force

till the invaſion of Nader Shah, till then there was ſcarce a better adminiſtered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flouriſhed exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppreſſion but thoſe who were dangerous by their wealth or power. For till theſe very few years, that the Engliſh company have precluded all nations from a free intercourſe with the peninſula of Indos, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their eaſe than under this government; nor is there a part of the world where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vaſt plenty and variety of manufactures, and the rich merchants were proofs ſufficient.

"The immemorial cuſtoms and uſages of Hindoſtan, founded on reaſon, and the Keran were calculated for the happineſs of man living in ſociety. They were the infallible guides of the officers of the government. Hindoſtan favoured by nature for commercial advantages, and Bengal, the paradiſe of nations, produced in great abundance, every thing requiſite for the ſupport and enjoyment of life. The inland navigation of ſeveral provinces of this empire, made it convenient for the purpoſe of trade, and the natural fertility of the ſoil, every where aſſiſted by periodical rains, rendered the cultivation of the earth an inviting taſk, and ſo eaſy as to afford the husbandman great leiſure for application to other uſeful arts.

Dehly was in the times of its proſperity a receptacle, into which the gold and ſilver of the greateſt part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted it's courſe. This great influx of wealth was owing,

owing, firſt to the extraordinary fruitfulneſs of the dependent dominions; ſecondly, to the ſober induſtry of the inhabitants; either applied to agriculture which was greatly encouraged, or to manufacturing thoſe commodities which have for many ages been in eſteem throughout the world; and, thirdly, to the ſtrong protection granted to merchants.

The encouragement of foreign and domeſtic trade was more particularly neceſſary in the ſubahſhip of Bengal, which containing no mines of diamonds, gold, or ſilver, depended ſolely upon its manufactories, which alone could enable theſe provinces to pay ſo conſiderable a tribute annually to the court of Dehly. But ſince the Engliſh have ravaged and depopulated this valuable part of my dominions, there is neither freedom nor ſafety for the husbandman or the manufacturer.

Nothing can afford a more ſtriking example of the inſtability of human power, than the contraſt which now appears in this diſtracted empire. Ever ſince the invaſion of Nader Shah, the ſcourge of mankind, Hindoſtan has been torn by inteſtine wars and foreign foes. Every ſubahdar, or governor of a province, availing himſelf of the weakneſs of Mahomed Shah, and regardleſs of the firmauns from the court of Dehly, ſet up for himſelf; murderers and uſurpers, Europeans and natives, ſoon aboliſhed all laws, and eſtabliſhed uſages, and ſpread devaſtation and miſery throughout the empire. The country was now rent by civil diſſenſions, and groaned under every ſpecies of domeſtic calamity. Villany was practiſed in every form, all law and religion were trodden under foot, the bands of private friendſhips

ſhips and connections, as well as of ſociety and government were broken, and every individual as if amidſt a foreſt of wild beaſts, could rely upon nothing but the ſtrength of his own arm.

Though the kings of Hindoſtan have at different times reſided at ſome favourite city, as Azmeer, Canouge, Agra, and Futtehpoor, the rites of coronation have been always performed at Dehly, as well as in general all acts of government; theſe conſiderations have engaged us to keep our court in this ſeat of empire, notwithſtanding the groundleſs jealouſies and apprehenſions of the Engliſh company. Many of the ſucceſſors of Aurengzebe have like us ſuffered all the viciſſitudes of a cruel fate, for having been the lawful heirs to a throne. After the death of Nader Shah, three kings were ſucceſſively murdered, the next was deprived of his ſight, with ſhocking circumſtances of barbarity, and a child proclaimed afterwards king for form, ſake, and Hidoſtan was left during this minority a prey to his rapacious officers, who plundered with impunity the diſtant provinces. Several princes of the blood have been taken into dark and frightful dungeons in the very ſeat of their royal progenitors majeſty, ſometimes releaſed and raiſed to pompous titles without a ſhadow of power, only to give an apparent ſanction to the wicked meaſures of the uſurpers of royal authority; in this ſort of interregnum, the emperors themſelves became inſtruments of oppreſſion in the hands of traitors and blood-ſuckers. Thus an Omrah, pay-maſter of the troops, dethroned Ahmud Shah, his maſter and benefactor; from this dangerous precedent may be dated the numberleſs calamities, which have befallen

fallen this once flouriſhing empire. Divers competitors aſpired to the muſnud, and almoſt all the provinces which were then tributary to Dehly having been diſunited in theſe times of anarchy and diſtraction, became ſo many ſeparate independent governments.

The rebellious Omrah, who had ſeated himſelf on the throne of Hindoſtan, ſent to priſon his lawful ſovereign, where ſeveral princes of the royal blood were alſo confined. He afterwards compelled a ſurgeon who had been long in the king's ſervice to put out his majeſty's eyes. After this barbarous deed he took out of priſon another prince, whom he inveſted with the enſigns of royalty, without power; this unhappy prince refuſing to be longer an inſtrument of his villainy, was treacherouſly aſſaſſinated by the ruffian.

After Allum Gueen had been thus ſacrificed to the cruel ambition of the uſurper, he releaſed another prince from captivity, and ſeated him in the like manner on the throne of Dehly, ſtained with the blood of his royal victims; but the invaſion of the Dehly provinces by the Marattas, having prevented new aſſaſſinations, and defeated his pernicious deſigns, he flew like a cowardly villain, into a diſtant retreat to hide his crimes and the horrors of his guilt.

Shah Jehan, the laſt emperor of his creation, having ſat in royal pageantry on the throne of Dehly, was ſuddenly depoſed and again impriſoned by the victorious Marattas, who placed Jewan in his ſtead, as the lawful and undoubted heir to the empire of the line of Tamerlane, and eldeſt ſon of Allum Gueen

Queen, after having been like other princes kept a ſtate priſoner by the uſurper.

Akhmat Abdalla, who had conquered the northern provinces ceded to Perſia by Mahomed Shah, and was at this time grown very powerful, in the confuſion which enſued upon Nadar Shah's death, invaded Hindoſtan; he fought ſeveral battles with the Marattas; and, upon his ſecond invaſion of Dehly gave them a toral overthrow, and confirmed the appointment made by the Marattas of the young prince Jewan, now circumſcribed in authority to the Dehly provinces, and the annual tribute to be paid by the young nominal king, for the provinces confirmed upon him, being ſettled, Abdalah returned to his own country.

Providence having interpoſed in the mean time in our behalf, by a ſort of miraculous releaſe from the perſon where we and our brothers had been ſhut up from our cradle at Dehly, we experienced numberleſs hardſhips and calamities, we led a vagrant wretched life, without aſſiſtance or relief from our vaſſals, till Gazi al Deen confined us again by his uſual arts and perfidy, we had the good luck and reſolution to break a ſecond time theſe ignominious chains, and having ſought refuge with a Maratta chief, he afforded us protection for ſome months, in order to ravage the country in our name. Compaſſionating the miſeries of our ſubjects to whom we have a true paternal affection, we applied in vain for ſupport and advice to Nigel al Dowlah, and thus friendleſs and deſtitute we at laſt went over to Sujah al Dowlah, ſubahdar of Oude, who having alſo made himſelf independent during the trou-

troubles of the empire, diſmiſſed us from his dominions with a ſmall preſent.

After ſo many rebuffs and diſaſters, we flew to the nabob of Illahabad, with whom we concerted a plan for invading and taking poſſeſſion of the territories of Bengal, which Allum Gueer our father, of glorious memory had granted us, as a ſingular mark of his royal favour.

The Engliſh Eaſt India company governor, then colonel Clive, had uſurped them from Serajah al Dowlah, and beſtowed this valuable ſubahdery, our property on the traitor Meer Jaffier.

Had we been powerfully ſupported, and the Zemindars engaged in this expedition acted with ſpirit and perſeverance; we might have conquered by the ſword our paternal inheritance. Such an indignity was offered to our ſupremacy, that colonel Clive, at the requiſition of his new made nabob, marched to puniſh the rajahs for their loyalty in following our ſtandards. Though we declared to the colonel, we had no intentions againſt Meer Jaffier's life, and that our principal object was to get an army to make head againſt the vizier, which, if it pleaſed God to favour our cauſe, the colonel might command for the company or himſelf the greateſt advantages. In a conference with the nabob's ſon and miniſters, it was agreed, that they could not, conſiſtently with their means of policy, give an aſſylum to a prince of the blood in any of the provinces. As the colonel accompanied his denial with a reſpectful preſent, we were ſenſible of his courteſy, and ſent word to him, that ſuch was our confidence in his honour and generoſity, that we were inclined to put our royal perſon under his ſafe guard; his evaſive anſwer was, that acting under

under the ſubahdah's orders, he could not adviſe us to put ourſelves in his power: whereupon, we were obliged to ſeek for ſome other refuge, and the colonel to intimidate us and the neighbouring powers from ever diſturbing the Bengal provinces again, thought fit to ſhew his reſentment to Sujah al Dowlah, who had aſſiſted us, by upbraiding him for having preſumed to ſend forces into his country, as he muſt have known the inviolable friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and the nabob; and that if the nabob ſtill perſiſted in aſſiſting his enemies, he would in that caſe, decide the contention with the ſword. At that time, it was not conſiſtent with the views and policy of the Engliſh in Bengal to acknowledge our authority, though the company on the Malabar coaſt, made uſe of our ſanction for taking our port and city of Surat. The apology of Mr. Spencer, afterwards governor of Bengal, on this occaſion, is a piece of too glaring ſophiſtry, to omit here the inſertion of it at large.

A repreſentation made to the mogul, by John Spencer, in behalf of the honourable Engliſh Eaſt India company, 1759. "That by virtue of royal firmauns of your majeſty's predeceſſors, the Engliſh hitherto enjoyed favour at Surat, and carried on their buſineſs in a reputable manner, till in theſe days, that the Siddees uſurping an undue authority in town, uſed it to the ruin of the city in general, the lives and properties of your majeſty's ſubjects being made light of by them, and they even proceeded ſo far as to take away the lives of our people, in direct breach of his majeſty's firmaun. And in ſhort, inſtead of being the protectors of the place, became the oppreſſors of it to ſuch

ſuch a degree, that the juſt orders of your majeſty were no ways regarded in this city by their means; and things were come to this paſs, that though in conſideration of the revenue appropriated by your majeſty for the maintenance of a fleet at Surat, the Siddee was to protect the bar; yet ſo far was he from doing it, that for many months paſt a large fleet of Sanaragee punts (Ballagee Row's Naib) entirely ſhut up the bar, as did a large land force by land, to the infinite detriment of the place and inhabitants in general, without the Siddee's interfering therein; and there was the greateſt reaſon to believe, that unleſs ſpeedy and vigorous meaſures had ſoon been purſued, your majeſty's famous city of Surat, the only port of good Muſſulmen to the tomb of your prophet, would have been brought to ſhame.

In ſuch circumſtances, the eyes of the whole town were caſt on us, as the only perſons of force ſufficient to ſave the city from the calamities that it then felt, and was ſtill further threatened with; and in conſequence of their ſolicitations to me, that our buſineſs in that part of the world is only to trade and merchandize, and we are not deſirous of taking or governing cities or countries; yet, as all the inhabitants of this place, great and ſmall, were earneſtly deſirous of it, and I ſaw it was for the good of the place; I wrote to the general of Bombay on the ſubject, in ſuch manner, that at an immenſe expence he ſent thither, in our king's ſhips, a great force of good and experienced men, with a large quantity of artillery and other warlike ſtores of all ſorts, with which I have had the happineſs to procure ſafety to the city and eaſe to the inha-

inhabitants, and have procured an entire currency to your majeſty's orders in the place, and your majeſty's authority by all ways in our power: will be preſerved in this place, as it uſed to be; and you will conſider the Engliſh as deſirous of receiving your orders; ſuch being the intention of the governor of Bombay and myſelf, whoſe whole power will be uſed to maintain the caſtle that we have poſſeſſed ourſelves of for your majeſty, and to preſerve the bar and ſee open againſt all oppoſers on your behalf: for we ſhall not apply the revenue you have granted for this purpoſe to others, as has hitherto been the caſe: and ſince our having done this, the enemies that ſurrounded the place both by ſea and land, to its great prejudice, have been removed. We are always ready for the ſafety of the caſtle and the city, with its inhabitants, and therefore, hope for your majeſty's favour in behalf of the honourable Engliſh company, for whoſe good ſervices on this occaſion I muſt refer your majeſty to the repreſentation of the inhabitants of the place."

Notwithſtanding all the ſpecious reaſons given by the company for ſeizing upon our caſtle and port of Surat, every impartial perſon may judge by this new incroachment, that the ſyſtem of this aſpiring ſociety, is to reduce even the king himſelf, to an ignominous dependency, in depriving him of all the reſources of his power.

We renewed our attempts on the provinces of Bengal in the year 1760, and though they were not attended with the ſucceſs, which the juſtice of our cauſe deſerved, our faithful and loving ſubjects gave us during three years repeated proofs of their loyalty.

loyalty. Having been diſtreſſed and haraſſed during theſe campaigns, cruel neceſſity obliged us to ſurrender ourſelves to the commander of the *Britiſh* forces at Gogal, in the province of Bahar. During our intercourſe with the Engliſh, we received from Dehly the melancholy news of the aſſaſſination of Allum Gueer, our renowned father. I made them the moſt advantageous offers, to induce them to ſupport me in my juſt claims to the throne of Dehly. But finding they would do nothing for us, except the ceremony of proclaiming us at Patna, we quitted the Bahar province, and having had afterwards recourſe again to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah, for political, though unjuſtifiable reaſons, he confined us, contrary to the veneration and obedience which he owed to our ſacred perſon.

Caſſim Ally Khawn having been expelled from the ſubahdary of Bengal, that nabob had retired with his treaſure and ſome of his adherents into Sujah al Dowlah's dominions, and at laſt prevailed upon him to join him in an attempt to recover his ſubahſhip. Accordingly Sujah al Dowlah invaded the province of Bahar with a conſiderable force, bringing us with him. Sujah al Dowlah vanquiſhed and fugitive after the battle of Bahar, left us behind him, and in this perplexing ſituation, we once more threw ourſelves on the Engliſh for ſafety. In this continued ſcene of diſtreſs and anxiety we thought it was proper to grant a temporary firmaun, appointing the company Subahdars of the province, as there was no other means to obtain their aſſiſtance than to gratify their ambition; they did not neglect of availing themſelves of

this

this opportunity to increaſe their demands. As we were at this juncture bereft of friends, on whom we could rely even for perſonal ſafety. While we continued in the Engliſh camp, they treated us with ſome reſpect, though they took care in allowing me a ſmall ſum for my daily ſubſiſtence, to ſhew me an inſulting ſuperiority; they ſaluted me by the name of the king of the world, and did not leave me even the choice of a few friends. Having expelled the nabob Sujah al Dowlah of his dominions, and while it was yet uncertain whether they ſhould ever reſtore him; we repreſented to the preſident and council at Bengal, that if this prince, my vaſſal was to be deprived of his ſovereignty, I had an uncontroverted title right to his dominions, and deſired a detachment of their troops, to be kept at my expence; till I had made ſuch connections in the country, that with my own troops I might afterwards be able to defend the country without any farther aſſiſtance from the Engliſh. We offered to pay them off the revenues of the country what ſum they ſhould demand yearly; a proof of our royal munificence. I thought then it was contrary to the Engliſh intereſt, to make peace with the vizier, and in that caſe, I declared I would go to Dehly, as Sujah al Dowlah had uſed me ſo unkindly, and was forced to rely on the Engliſh, though I looked on them as mercenary allies in the fulleſt extent of the adjective, it was their time to ſhare with me the poſſeſſion of a country rich and fruitful.

Having conſidered our petition, they reſolved to keep a part of the ſubdued nabob's dominions for the uſe of the Engliſh company, and to put us in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of all the reſt. Accordingly a paper was drawn up and ſent to the commander in chief of their army, with directions to get it executed by us after a pompous declaration of their ſervices, which according to their aſſertions had ſtrengthened the foundation of the empire which God had given us; we were directed to grant to the company our royal favours for the time being, in aſſigning to them for the great expence they had been put to by the war with Sujah al Dowlah, the country of Ghazipore and the reſt of the Zemindary of Bulwantſing; the rajah was to pay the revenues to the company, and the amount ſhall be expunged from the royal revenues. As the army of the Engliſh company had joined our ſtandard, it was put in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and the reſt of the countries belonging to the nabob Sujah al Dowlah; but the revenues were to be in our entire management and diſpoſal.

We granted them beſides out of our treaſury, ſuch a proportion of the revenues as the exigences of our affairs would admit of; and engaged when we ſhould be put in full poſſeſſion to reimburſe the whole expences of the compnny in this buſineſs, from the time of their joining our royal ſtandard. We iſſued accordingly our imperial ſunnud confirming the ſame, and in conſequence of this agreement we were put in poſſeſſion of Illahabad, and all the ſubaſhip of Oude, excepting the Zemindary of Bulwantſing, at whoſe principal city of Banaras, a factory was, eſtabliſhed by the governor and council of Calcutta for the collection of the revenues, which theſe ſervants fixed at twenty lacks, though this Zemindary actually yielded

yielded to the rajah at leaſt ſeventy five lacks. The Omrah of Meer Jaffier's creation (Lord Clive,) having reſolved to aboliſh the treaties ſolemnly entered into only two months before his arrival in Bengal, deprived us of that part of the Nizamut of Sujah al Dowlah with which he had already been inveſted. The company was alſo to give up the Zemindary of Bulwantſing, all of which were to be reſtored to the ſaid nabob, upon his paying to the company the ſum of fifty lacks of rupees. We were likewiſe ſuppoſed to be in actual poſſeſſion of the provinces of Bengal, as we were thus circumſtanced as to be forced to grant under this ſuppoſition to the company not only the office of the Dewannee of thoſe provinces, but the revenues alſo; by which of courſe all the treaties with the nabobs of Bengal were rendered void. We likewiſe were obliged to confirm to the company, the lands before granted to them by the former nabobs; and to confirm the jaqueer of the Engliſh Omrah, and the Engliſh company, from Bengal thought the annual ſum of twenty five lacks for the ſupport of our houſhold and dignity adequate to the wiſhes of the ſupreme ruler of Hindoſtan, and the conceſſions they had obtained from his royal munificence. Theſe ravenous and ſordid merchants flattered themſelves of our ready compliance with their moſt extravagant deſires, as they looked upon us as merely dependent on their bounty, thinking our hopes of protection and even ſubſiſtence, ſhould reſt upon them. They imagined it was impoſſible for us circumſtanced as we were to deny their moſt unreaſonable re-

quest

queſt; as they boaſted of being our greateſt friends and benefactors.

These were not all the advantages they purpoſed to derive from our ſituation: they obtained upon the ſame principles ſunnuds for the provinces of Sicacole in the Deckan, valued at the yearly revenue of thirty lacks, as lord Clive had made a point of ſucceeding for the five northern provinces.

We are ſorry to acknowledge, that ſince the late daring encroachments and unjuſt demands of the company, that in reality there has not been for ſome years paſt a real emperor of Hindoſtan, as they have reduced the whole country to a ſtate of anarchy and deſolation. Though the company's ſervants pay us all the outward marks of reſpect and duty, we have a right to expect; we have been ſhamefully dependent for our ſubſiſtence upon theſe reptiles, who boaſt of having raiſed us to that exalted title for the ſerving of their own purpoſes. Were we to ſubmit longer to ſuch indignities, we might well indeed be reputed their deſpicable tool, as long as the government of our country remains on the preſent iniquitous footing.

According to the fundamental conſtitutions of our empire, the rents of the lands are our property; and the remainder of the revenues, after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a ſufficient fund for the ſupport of our viceroys, ought to be remitted to Dehly, or wherever the king ſhall reſide or direct.

The kings of Hindoſtan were from the foundation of this Eaſtern monarchy independent princes, poſſeſſed of immenſe territories in their own right,

and either ruling their ſubjects by their own will or by the eſtabliſhed laws of India.

The only land which the Engliſh Eaſt India company ever held by a regular grant, was that of the emperor Furrukſeer in the year 1717. It was not quite fifteen baſes where they eſtabliſhed their factories. All the grants and conceſſions of the nabobs are illegal and invalid; according to the inſtitutions of the empire, neither the nabob's of Bengal, nor indeed if any other part of Hindoſtan had a power over the revenues, they being liable to be called upon for the whole amount of them, after the neceſſary expences of the Nizamut are paid. The nabob therefore could have no right to diſpoſe of the revenues, much leſs to beſtow titles and honours by creating Omrahs of the empire. To alienate lands, or transfer to another perſon, by a formal and public act, any part of a jagheer, held only conditionally from the emperor as a jagueer, is an encroachment upon our royal prerogative. All theſe being imperial acts, can only be done by an emperor eſtabliſhed on the throne of Dehly, which was not the caſe when we granted by compulſion the company's extravagant demands; conſequently all the territories and revenues extorted by the Engliſh company, from a monarch whom they kept in an honourable captivity, cannot be reckoned the ſpontaneous grants of a king ſitting on his throne, nor can be reputed valid, according to the conſtitutions of the empire of Hindoſtan, but deemed poſſeſſions acquired and held either by violence and uſurpation.

To claim the authority of the oldeſt eſtabliſhed laws and cuſtoms of the mogul empire, and to draw

draw from them inferences is highly abſurd, when ſuch laws had actually no exiſtence.

Therefore none of theſe revolutions or pretended grants can be ſupported upon principles of juſtice. In all the tranſactions we have taken notice of, there was no right but that of the longeſt ſword, nor any law excepted the will of the conquerors, who had no check from the legal powers, nor other rule but that of convenience.

We do not mean to break the perpetual peace and to interrupt the free commerce which have ſo long ſubſiſted between the ſovereigns of Hindoſtan and the Engliſh in all parts of our dominions, provided Engliſh goods ſhall pay the ancient cuſtom, and as a proof of our high regard for the king of England, we wiſh that he would ſend and continue an ambaſſador at our court, during the time of the ſaid peace and the ſaid commerce; there to compound and end all ſuch great and weighty queſtions as might any way tend to a breach of the ſaid peace.

Our intentions is, that if any Engliſh ſhips, or merchants ſhall arrive in any of our ports, my people ſhall permit and ſuffer them to do what they will freely in commercial tranſactions, aiding and aſſiſting them on all occaſions of injuries that ſhall be offered them; but no Europeans ſhould be permited to keep ſtanding armies, or to raiſe fortifications in Hindoſtan, as they ought to be kept totally dependant upon that government, where they have procured themſelves admittance for the avowed purpoſe of trade only. The Engliſh notions of liberty differ widely from Aſiatic obedience: they ſhould remember the time, which may again be renewed,

newed, when they were forced to ſue for peace and pardon from the emperor Aurengzebe. For this purpoſe, they diſpatched from Surat two ambaſſadors who brought to the imperial preſence, their hands tied by a ſaſh before them, and were obliged to proſtrate themſelves. The king gave them a ſevere reprimand, after they had made a confeſſion of their faults and deſired pardon. Aurengzebe, who was a mild and wiſe prince, accepted of their ſubmiſſion, and pardoned their faults on condition that the governor of Bombay ſhould leave India and never come back again; and their firmaun was renewed on condition that ſatisfaction ſhould be given to his ſubjects on account of debts contracted, robberies committed, and loſſes and damages made good.

Matters being thus ſettled from the great lenity of the emperor, the company's agent in Bengal obtained leave for the Engliſh to return their factories.

In the earlieſt periods of India trade, the Engliſh as well as all other Eaſt India adventurers, uſed to trade freely in inland, under the protection of the Mogul government; and it was not till after the ſubverſion and diſmembering of the empire; that the ſecurity of merchants became precarious, by the great impoſitions they became ſubject to, in the different provinces uſurped by the nabobs, who aſſumed to themſelves the authority of the kings of Dehly.

Before the Engliſh company made themſelves the ſovereigns of Bengal, and during the independency of the empire of Hindoſtan, the company's goods, by virtue of a firmaun from the court

court of Dehly paſſed with their duſtuck duty free, while thoſe of other traders were expoſed to the payment of the duties eſtabliſhed by the country government; but now natives and Europeans who trade within the Bengal provinces are ſubject to ſuch regulations as the Engliſh are pleaſed to impoſe on them, through the nominal nabobs; which regulations on many occaſions amount to a total prohibition of their trade, being in general temporary, contradictory, and wholly calculated for obſtruction.

The monarchs of Hindoſtan would not permit any of the profeſſors of Iſlam to be hanged according to the Engliſh cuſtom, eſteeming that too ignominous a death for a Mahomedan to ſuffer; therefore, in ſuch caſes as were deemed capital, only the laſh was permited to be inflicted until death on the king's ſubjects Mahomedans and Gentoos; now the natives are ſubject to all the ignominious puniſhments invented by European cruelty and policy.

While the empire remained unſhaken, the general eſtabliſhed rate of eſtimation at Dehly, for cultivated ground, was ſuch as to ſtimulate the induſtry of the inhabitants, to make the beſt of a ſoil celebrated for its extraordinary fertility; but ſince the ſubverſion of the Mogul empire, the lands of every diſtrict of courſe became the property of each reſpective uſurper, ſo long as by their own power they can maintain poſſeſſion. Thus we find the Engliſh Eaſt India company declare themſelves to have become the ſovereigns of a rich and potent kingdom, of the revenues of which they likewiſe declare themſelves the proprietors. The ſame confuſion

fuſion which has prevailed in the Dehly provinces ſince the ſubverſion of the empire, has extended to the dominions of every uſurping nabob.

When the emperor Furriſkſear, granted his firmaun for exempting the Engliſh from the payment of all duties, their trade was very inſignificant, as well as their legal poſſeſſions of lands, which were by the firmaun circumſcribed within forty baſes. At that time, and for many years afterwards, even down to the year 1753, it was the cuſtom for the company in Bengal generally to provide their goods upon contracts with the merchants of the country, who received a part of the money in advance. Theſe merchants contracted under penalties, to deliver the goods, at ſtated times and prices, at the company's principal ſettlement, and were of courſe amenable to the laws of Hindoſtan, when they or their agents were guilty of any irregular practices. Though the detriment accruing to the government, from the great partiality ſhewn to the Engliſh, in preference to our ſubjects, was comparatively inconſiderable, the kings of Dehly had no conception of the height to which that trade would be carried, on which ſuch an unlimited exemption from duties had been granted.

When the government of Hindoſtan flouriſhed, the artificers manufactured their goods freely and without oppreſſion; and though there is no ſuch thing at preſent, it was then a common practice for reputable families of the Tanks, or Weaver caſt, to employ their own capitals in manufacturing goods, which they ſold freely on their accounts. Now theſe uſeful members of the community experience

perience daily the dire effects of cruel avarice and oppreſſion.

The reaſons alledged by the vizier Sujah al Dowlah, nabob of Oude, for adopting the hoſtile plan of the king of Dehly and the Marattas, are, that after the ſubahs of Bengal had been depoſed, confined, and murdered, and their nominal ſucceſſors reduced by a mercileſs and ambitious company of merchants, to a moſt ignominous ſubjection, without reveues or authority, he thought it juſtifiable by all laws of ſelf defence, to take the firſt opportunity he had, of preventing the ſame calamities that had befallen to the princes, his neighbours; that indeed, he looked upon his ſovereignty and independence very precarious, as long as theſe military traders ſhall remain in undiſturbed poſſeſſion of the Bengal provinces. That though he had been obliged to ſubmit to the aſcendancy of their arms, when obliged to cope alone with this formidable power; now that three warlike allies were engaged in the ſame cauſe, he was determined to adhere to his engagements, and to try once more to free himſelf and his ſubjects from *Engliſh* oppreſſion. That as for the treaties that he had made with the company, they were the mere effects of neceſſity and compulſion. That notwithſtanding he had been reſtored to part of his dominions, he looked upon himſelf as a tenant at pleaſure, while the Engliſh company have the diſpoſal of his principal fortreſs, and are poſſeſſed of this important key to his dominions: that they have preſumed to dictate to him the very choice of his friends and ſervants; that his ſubjects have been detached from their allgiance, by ſeduction or terror.

terror. That next to the invincible Shah Allum, he looked upon himſelf in rank and power, as the firſt prince of Hindoſtan, and ſhall never think himſelf ſecure and happy, as long as the petty tyrants of Calcutta ſhall give laws to the empire. If once we draw the ſword, we muſt not ſheath it again till the uſurper's vanquiſhed and entirely ſubdued, either ſue for peace in their large ſtrong holds, or are extripated from all the provinces of India. All the European powers will applaud our magnanimous reſolution. it is not the cauſe of a few ambitious ſovereigns, which we do eſpouſe, it is that of millions groaning under an intolerable yoke.

I had the reputation of a warlike prince before Fortune ſmiled to thoſe Europeans. If I have been conquered, my ſpirit and my courage are ſtill undaunted. Future generations ſhall bleſs our memory, if we are inſtrumental, next to the Almighty and our holy prophet, in reſcuing princes and nations from the vileſt abjection and miſery; my firſt engagements are to my ſubjects, and I owe fealty to none but Shaw Allum; may his majeſty begin a happy and glorious reign, by knowing his true friends, and never truſting again to his ſecret and inſidious enemies. A perpetual war with the infidels, is preferable to a diſhonourable peace."

The following ludicrous apology of the noble lord's conduct having been publiſhed after his return from India, deſerves here a place.

A vindication of the character and conduct of a noble lord, and of the three intended Eaſt India ſuperintendants, from the aſperſions of a writer who ſigns himſelf *Indus*.

Reading a very extraordinary paper ſigned Indus, my regard for the great perſonages aſperſed in it, has drawn from me the following animadverſions.

This ſcribbler pretends to great moderation, and to avoid all perſonal reflections, by confining himſelf to arguing from general principles; but almoſt every word he ſays, gives the lie to his profeſſions. I ſhall only mention a few inſtances, and make ſome reflections on them. He tells us, "all the world knows that ſome people have been publicly charged with the ſhocking crimes of aſſaſſination and poiſon." Now, can any thing be more perſonal than this, for all the world knows he can mean no body here, but a certain noble lord, deeply concerned in Eaſt India matters. He might as well have written his name at length. Indeed, for I will not deny it, a certain gentleman charged this noble lord with theſe crimes at a general meeting of the Eaſt India proprietors; nay, what is more, on the court's appearing unmanfully, and from ſome fooliſh prejudices of education, to be ſhocked at them, he offered to go into the proof. But he was, very injudiciouſly, in my opinion, not

ſuffered to proceed. For after all, what could he have proved? He could only have proved that one black fellow of a nabob, called Surajah Dowla, was murdered after he had been depoſed, and that another black fellow of the ſame profeſſion, Najem el Dowla, was poiſoned at an entertainment where this noble perſon was preſent. But could he have proved that his lordſhip either directed the dagger, or adminiſtered the draught with his own hands? Or, if he could, what them? He might as well reproach an inhabitant of Clare-Market for knocking down a cow, or ſticking a pig. For Blacks, Mahometans, or Pagans, are to be looked upon in the ſame light as theſe animals, when compared with Whites and Chriſtians. Nay, they prove that it ought to be ſo themſelves, for among the blacks in that country, killing a cow is thought to be as great, nay a greater crime, than killing a man. But were theſe allegations againſt his lordſhip true, and were they, contrary to all reaſon, to be accounted crimes, what an imprudent fellow is this Mr. Indus! Does he not know that we have laws againſt libels, and that it has been interpreted by a certain great man in the law, and, what is more, a friend of his lordſhip's, that truth is the greateſt aggravation of a libel? All the world knows his lordſhip has *a penny in his purſe*, and he has beſides what is better, according to the old proverb, *a friend in court*, a faſt and ſteady friend, whom he can depend upon. The Lord have mercy upon poor Indus, ſhould his lordſhip proſecute him before his noble and generous friend.

But Mr. Indus goes on, and from bad proceeds to worſe. He talks, by way of parable, of a poor

poor woman in the goſpel, who being poſſeſſed by one devil, got him expelled, but this devil roaming about, met with ſix devils worſe than himſelf, with whom he returned, took poſſeſſion of the poor woman again, and made her caſe much worſe than ever. Now the meaning of this parable or allegory is eaſily ſeen through, and I would not have Mr. Indus think to blind either his lordſhip or his noble friend by ſuch a flimzy veil. The poor woman can be no other than the Eaſt India company, and the firſt devil his lordſhip, who has certainly been long in poſſeſſion of, or in the ſcriptural phraſe of Mr. Indus, has long poſſeſſed that company, his temporary expulſion muſt allude to his late diſappointment in the choice of directors, his roaming about to his intrigues between that time and this, and his final return with ſix devils worſe than himſelf, and taking poſſeſſion of the poor woman again, muſt mean the late meaſure adopted by the directors, and now under the conſideration of the proprietors.

Thus far the allegory holds, but whom can he mean by the ſix devils? I confeſs this puzzles me, for in ſpite of my heart, I can only find out three of them, and theſe I will name to put ſuch a fellow to the bluſh, if capable of bluſhing. They are colonel F—, Mr. V—, and Mr. S—, the three ſuperintendants.

But the devil has certainly poſſeſſed Indus himſelf inſtead of the Eaſt India company. His lordſhip, was before, only a tyrant, a plunderer, a robber, a forger, a murderer, and a poiſoner, but he is now a devil, and what is ſtranger ſtill, the three worthy gentlemen above-named, are ſaid to

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be worſe devils than him. But how is this, Mr. Indus? Indeed had he contented himſelf with inſinuating, that two of them had defrauded and plundered the company and the inhabitants of India as much as was in their power, when there, I could not have found great fault with him; for we have their own words for it, they have done that, and we all expect they will do it again: nay, it is for that very purpoſe that the worthy directors are now ſending them out ſuperintendants, with unlimited power, and they may rob and plunder without controul and to their hearts content. But with reſpect to the director, can any murders or poiſonings be laid to his charge? Here I boldly challenge his worſt enemies, and ſet them at defiance. Indeed were it aſſerted, that the meaneſt of L. C——'s dependants, as Mr. Vanſittart calls him, was privy to, or concerned in the murder of Surajah Doula, I confeſs it could not be diſproved. But it will not be alledged that he was preſent at table when Najem el Doula drank the deadly draught which hurried him in half an hour to his long home in the moſt excruciating agonies. No, we may all remember he was then haranguing in Leadenhall-Street, and pouring forth tropes of ſublime Ciceronian eloquence in praiſe of his great patron, that extraordinary genius and generous eagle, as he calls him in his immortal writings.

But it may be alledged in favour of Mr. Indus, that if not worſe, or even ſo bad now, they will in time become worſe, for Mr. Indus pretends to be a prophet, and has predicted the ruin of the company from this meaſure.

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Here again I ſet him at defiance, for perjury added to the liſt, as it was by the gentleman above-mentioned, where is the enormity human nature is capable of, which has not been laid to the noble perſon's charge? I grant indeed they may become as bad, and moſt probably they will, but I defy them to be worſe; ſo that here Mr. Indus is in the wrong, as well as libellous and moſt malevolent, in his innuendoes and inſinuations; and I deſire he will publicly acknowledge his error.

Yet as to the article of poiſoning, I muſt confeſs I am not altogether ſatisfied; not that I have any ſcruples about the thing; the manner of it is all; that a creature ſhaped, at leaſt like a white man, and a chriſtian, ſhould be made to die the death of a rat, is not quite clever: therefore I never approved of the circumſtance attending Najem el Doula's exit; and the only excuſe I can offer in behalf of the noble perſon, is that he muſt then have been a novice, and that this was his firſt eſſay in that noble Machiavellion art.

I have often regretted that he was not provided with a quantity of that excellent medicine, called the Wooara poiſon, lately imported by the ingenious author of the account of Guiana. This admirable compoſition is ſaid to be a ſovereign remedy for all diſtempers, if applied only by the ſcratch of a pin, in a minute's time, and without the leaſt apparent pain or convulſion. Had this been exhibited to Najem el Doula, he would not have been half an hour, or as ſome ſay, two hours a dying, and all the time in the moſt dreadful agonies and convulſions, which muſt have given our hero himſelf ſome uneaſineſs at leaſt during the

the operation. But I hope this clumſy manner of doing buſineſs will be avoided for the future, and that the worthy directors will procure a ſufficient quantity of this efficacious medicine for each of their ſuperintendants. And what better uſe can it be put to, than to procure another 200,000l. a year, or ſo, for the Eaſt India company, as we all know that ſum was procured by the doſing of Najem el Dowla, clumſy and unworkmanlike as it was. At any rate, and whether this uſe be made of it or not, it is good to be fortified againſt all contingencies: the mogul himſelf, his nabobs and his rajas may prove refractory; but it will be the fault of magnanimous ſuperintendants, if they continue to be ſo, after any one of them comes within a pin's ſcratch of them. There will be nothing in it, they will be thought to die of an apoplexy; and, in my conſcience, I think this will be the beſt way of ending the war with Hyder Nag, whoſe late ſucceſſes have occaſioned ſuch a dreadful and alarming fluctuation in our ſtock.

But to return (for this is only a diſgreſſion, though I hope not an unprofitable one) having thus vindicated the director and his antagoniſt from the malicious innuendo of Mr. Indus, that they either are, will be, or can be, worſe devils than the great capital original devil, who has ſo long poſſeſſed the Eaſt India company; I muſt alſo defend the brave colonel, the other member of this triumvirate, who is included in the ſame charge. And now having mentioned a triumvirate, a ſudden thought has occurred to me, and I cannot help purſuing it, of comparing this tri-

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triumvirate to the laſt famous one which finally deſtroyed Rome, as it is to be hoped, and I believe is intended, this will deſtroy the Eaſt India company. The colonel being a ſoldier, and no doubt like Iago in Shakeſpear; a very valiant fellow, muſt be Antony beyond all queſtion. But who is to be Octavius, is not ſo eaſily ſettled. Octavius was an errant coward, and loved to ſleep in a ſound ſkin, and that is the well known character of both the antagoniſt and director. Octavius was an author, and wrote oratorical declamations, and a journal of his own actions. So have the director and his antagoniſt. We muſt therefore ſee who is to be Lepidus; and that no doubt is director. For like Lepidus, he has deſerted the party of freedom he was once engaged in, merely for the honour, or rather diſgrace of being a triumvir, and it is foreſeen, nay he knows it himſelf, that he will be checked, over-ruled, duped, and finally made a mere cypher of by the other two. Director then being Lepidus, the other of neceſſity muſt be Octavius. This important point being ſettled, proceed we now to the promiſed defence of Soldier or Antony.

Now for my part, I never heard any thing elſe of Antony, but that he is the friend, or as Mr. Indus perhaps would chuſe to ſtile him, the tool of, I wiſh I could, but I cannot call him Cæſar, no not even Pompey; Mock Pompey then let it be, a name already given this noble perſon in the India-Houſe; for though in nothing elſe, he certainly reſembles in this the antient Pompey, in reaping the credit and advantage of the great actions and victories

victories of other men. The real Pompey did ſo to Lucullus, Mock Pompey to Sir Robert Fletcher. But then will even the virulent Indus, dare to maintain that the friendſhip of Mock Pompey is an imputation or ſcandal upon Antony? If ſo, he ſhares the glorious ſcandal, for ſuch will I call it, with the greateſt lawyer, orator, and judge of his age and nation, with Cicero himſelf the chief prætor, for having got into a tract of Roman names. I muſt ſtill retain them, and here with peculiar propriety. It is well known how the old Cicero fought all the old Pompey's battles, and how he ſerved him at all plunges through thick and thin. But never did old Cicero manifeſt ſuch a noble exertion of friendſhip for old Pompey, as modern Cicero lately did for Mock Pompy.

It ſeems a certain centurion who had ſerved under Mock Pompey in his Aſiatic wars, having been, as he fooliſhly thought, illegally confined, and otherwiſe maltreated by him, brought an action againſt him for large damages in the court wherein Cicero preſides.

The matter was truly of conſequence; had the centurion prevailed, actions on actions innumerable would have been brought againſt Mock Pompey, and who knows but the princely jaghire itſelf might have been touched. Here was an occaſion for a friend to exert himſelf, and Cicero did not deſert his friend. Beſides the cauſe of ſacred friendſhip, the cauſe of common liberty was alſo concerned, I mean that moſt valuable branch of it which the great pant after, that of oppreſſing, inſulting, and every way abuſing their inferiors with impunity, a cauſe for which Cicero has all

his

his life time proved himself a moſt ſtrenuous advocate. "He talked, as Statira ſays of Alexander, good gods, how he did talk!" Never, as Hudibras has it:

Did well-feed lawyer on his breviate,
Blow from the bar ſo ſtrong a levet,

As Cicero blew from the bench in favour of his friend Mock Pompey. His eloquence was irreſiſtible, 20,000 Marattas bore down every thing before them; the jury were convinced, and in a few minutes, brought in a verdict for Mock Pompey, defendant. Never beheld I in my life time ſuch a manly generous exertion of friendſhip. Tears dropt from mine eyes, as in the cauſe of young Douglas. I felt myſelf exceſſively affected. Affected much in the ſame manner as St. Francis, who ſeeing a young fellow kiſſing a young wench in a corner, bleſt God there was ſo much Chriſtian charity ſtill left in the world. In the ſame manner did I bleſs God there was ſo much diſintereſted friendſhip in this age of corruption and venality ſtill ſubſiſting among the great. Were I endued with the lyrical powers of a Grey, our Engliſh Pindar, who is now celebrating in lofty ſtrains the virtues of Mæcenas *atavis editi regibus*, chancellor of Granta, another genius equally great in his way, I would write an ode on friendſhip and inſcribe it to the two friends. *O fortunati ambo.*

After ſo great an example, ſure Indus will not preſume to inſinuate that Mock Pompey's friendſhip is an imputation upon Antony. How then

does he call him a devil? the very worſt he can ſay of him is only that he is the devil's friend.

I ſhall take notice but of one paſſage more in Indus's letter, and then have done with him; which is "That he does not wiſh them for their own ſakes (meaning the director and his antagoniſt) to force him to a diſquiſition into their characters and well known public tranſactions." What a malicious inſinuation is here! but I find though Indus fears not the law, yet he dreads broken bones, and ſhudders at the thoughts of cold iron. Here is not the ſmalleſt hint about the military ſuperintendant; and he truſts to the pacific diſpoſition of the two civil ones. But he muſt be a coward as well as a libeller: for what can be a greater proof of a daſtardly ſpirit, than thus publicly to inſult thoſe, who he is certain will not call him to a proper account for it? but even here theſe worthy gentlemen can boldly ſet him at defiance; and though the devil could not, they can ſtand the touch of Ithuriel's ſpear. For what worſe can he ſay of them than they have already ſaid of one another? but I am really aſhamed of talking ſo much of theſe matters, and of peculation, fraud, rapine, plunder, and robbery, things of courſe, and always to be underſtood, when ſuperintendants and ſecret committees are ſent out to the Eaſt Indies. Yet juſtice obliges me to put in one word in favour of the director. I never heard that the director, when he returned to England, was worth more than 300,000l. a paltry ſum when it is conſidered he was concerned in two capital revolutions, and the ſole, at leaſt principal operator in one of them. But from this we muſt

deduct

deduct the full ſum of 10,000l. which I am credibly informed he was really worth when he arrived preſident at Bengal, ſo that I defy malignity itſelf, to inſinuate that he could have plundered the company and inhabitants of Bengal of more than 290,000l. I acknowledge this was a great error in our good director, but I hope he has ſeen it, that he has repented of it, and is reſolved to rectify it in his next expedition.

Indus concludes with a prophecy, that this meaſure of ſending out ſuperintendants will ruin the company, and pretends to offer this as a reaſon againſt it. I never knew a more conceited coxcomb, or a more blundering fellow at an argument. Firſt, he arrogates to himſelf great ſagacity from this prophecy; but it is really ſo obvious, that the man who ſees it not, muſt be blind. Next, he uſes that conſideration as an argument againſt the meaſure, which is really the beſt and only argument for it. I have a treatiſe by me ready for the preſs, which I ſhall publiſh as ſoon as I can procure a ſufficient ſubſcription among the preſent miniſtry and direction, and their reſpective adherents, wherein I have proved to a demonſtration, that riches, commerce, and population, are the ſources of all vice, and the bane of all good government. For inſtance, were there no people in this iſland, would there be any vice in it; would there be any whoring and drinking, curſing and ſwearing, fighting and quarrelling, robbing on the highway, or breaking the Lord's day? The thing is obvious, and I am aſhamed to inſiſt on ſuch ſelf-evident truths. Were England only to be ſo far happy as to become as poor, uncul-

uncultivated, and depopulated as Siberia, would there be any riots and diſturbances, any bawlings about Wilkes and liberty, any clamours, or factious petitions about the freedom of elections, or which is the main point of all, would there be any oppoſition to the wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration of the virtuous chancellor of Granta? the miniſtry have already gone a great way in their part of the buſineſs, and are finiſhing what remains with all poſſible expedition. They have ruined the American trade, and will ſoon loſe that of the Mediterranean, by the acceſſion of Corſica to France. They have done their duty in the weſt and middle, and it reſts for the company to do theirs in the eaſt.

Should the patriotic directors and the diſintereſted part of the proprietors prove the majority, ſucceſs cannot be doubted. But unfortunately, ſhould theſe worthies be outnumbered by the ſelfiſh proprietors, whoſe affections are ſwayed by the love of filthy lucre, and the mammon of unrighteouſneſs, or what is worſe, by narrow confined attachments to their families and relations, and who have not penetration enough to foreſee future peace, happineſs and virtue, from immediate poverty, ruin, and diſgrace. I am much afraid that this ſalutary meaſure of ſending out our three ſuperintendants, with unlimited powers to the Eaſt Indies, whom I have proved to be every way ſo well qualified for fulfilling ſuch glorious purpoſes will be rejected.

All the former treaties between the Engliſh Eaſt India company and the nabobs of Bengal and Oude have no validity, as the contracting parties on one

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ſide were the mogul's vaſſals, who could not treat as ſovereigns with European nations, without the ſanction of the kings of Dehly; and on the other part, they were dictated by the company, to thoſe they had raiſed or ſubdued, and conſequently the conceſſions were ſuggeſted by fear and neceſſity.

In the treaty concluded between colonel Clive, on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and Serajah al Dowla, nabob of Bengal, in February 1757. The demands granted were, that the company be not moleſted upon account of ſuch privileges as had been granted them by the king's of Dehly's firmaun, which was to remain in full force.

This the nabob of Bengal could not anſwer for, nor contract an engagement of that ſort without the knowledge or approbation of the lords ſupreme of Hindoſtan. The villages which had been given to the company by the firmaun, could not be legally detained by the ſubahdars, as they had no authority conſtitutionally to grant or reſume at pleaſure, territories which are all the mogul's lands to the company. The thirty-ſeven villages contiguous to Calcutta, which the company applied to the emperor Furrukſear in 1716, for liberty to purchaſe from the Zemindars, were not given to the Engliſh by that emperor, but only he allowed them to purchaſe the ſame: however the Zemindars in Jaffier's time would not part with them, and they were at laſt moſtly wreſted from them by fraud and violence.

None but the mogul could grant to the company the privilege to paſs all the goods belonging to them, and having their duſtuck freely by land or

water

water in Bengal, Bahar and Oriſſa, without paying any fees or duties whatſoever; and the nabob's aſſent to the ſecond article is a mere farce.

He engaged to make the company the reſtitution of their factories and ſettlements, which he had taken from them when their conqueror; and, after he was vanquiſhed, he was compelled to reſtore the company theſe acquiſitions. It was the ſame caſe in regard to the money and effects taken from the Engliſh company, their factors, and dependants as, in caſe of refuſal, they would have been forced to comply with this demand. They left indeed to the nabob's juſtice to determine, what an equivalent in money he ſhould give for goods damaged, plundered, or loſt, reſerving to themſelves mentally the right of deciding the loſs and reparation.

Though it was impoſſible for the nabob to foreſee, if the money to be ſtruck in Calcutta, according to the fifth article, ſhould be of equal weight and fineneſs with that of Marſhedabad; they forced him to conſent that no demand ſhould be made by his ſubjects for a deduction of batta, at the rate of exchange between rupees of different ſpecies.

The agreement of the company ſigned by the governor and committee the 9th of February 1757, has been openly violated in every point. They declared by a ſolemn atteſtation that they never would oppreſs or do violence to any perſons without cauſe, but it was left at their diſcretion to determine the nature of the offence and the puniſhment; they offered in numberleſs inſtances protection to perſons having accounts with the government, to the king's zemindars, to murderers and robbers, although they had ſolemnly engaged to

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the contrary, with the additional obligation never to act contrary to the tenor of the articles agreed to by the nabob.

Colonel Clive, with the pompous eaſtern titles of Subut Jung Bahader, proteſted at the ſame time that he had reſolved upon the deſtruction of the nabob Sujah al Dowla, in the preſence of God and our Saviour, that the Engliſh company would inviolably adhere to the articles of the treaty made with the nabob, look upon his enemy as their enemies, and grant him all the aſſiſtance in their power.

The ſame nabob of Bengal granted to the company pervannahs for erecting a mint at Calcutta, and for the currency of their buſineſs, which none but the ſovereign of Hindoſtan has a right to permit. He could not confirm the king's firmaun without his direction and authority.

The fifteen pervannahs of the ſame tenor and date, which he granted to the rajahs and zemindars, are equally abſurd and ridiculous: the nabobs were themſelves ſenſible they had no right to exert theſe acts of ſovereignty, as they always pretended to be authorized by virtue of the royal mandate, and acknowledge themſelves ſervants to the king.

The treaty of June, 1757, between colonel Clive on the part of the Engliſh Eaſt India company, and Meer Jaffier Ally Khawn, the creator of the conqueror of Plaſſey, cannot be looked upon in any other light than an agreement betwixt two perſons, *qui ſentendent comme larrans en foire.*

The

The enemies of the Engliſh, right or wrong, whether Indians or Europeans, were to be his enemies.

The French laugh at the third article of this treaty, by which the treacherous uſurper, ſeated by colonel Clive on the muſnud, confirming to the Engliſh the poſſeſſion of all the effects and factories which belonged to them (the French) in the provinces of Bengal, the paradiſe of nations, as well as at his ſolemn engagement, never to permit them to ſettle in the three provinces; as he could not, if even he had been the legal governor of the country, repeal a grant of the king, in conſequence of which the French were ſettled there.

It is now publicly known what uſe was made of the crore of rupees the new nabob gave to the company, in conſideration of the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta; and of the other ſums intended for the relief of individuals, Engliſh, Gentoos, Mahometans and Armenians, as the diſtribution of the money was left to colonel Clive.

He granted by the eighth article to the Engliſh company, beſides the tracts of lands belonging to ſeveral zemindars which ſurrounded the borders of Calcutta, ſix hundred yards without the ditch, which was a moſt daring encroachment upon the authority of the king of Dehly, the real proprietor of all the lands in his dominions.

The company have no better title to the land laying ſouth of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, which Meer Jaffier put under their zemindary; all the officers of theſe parts being forced under their juriſdiction.

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The company took care to ſtipulate that he ſhould pay for their aſſiſtance, and indeed, in caſe of refuſal, they knew they had a power ſufficient to make him pay their charges, ſuppoſed or real.

This mock ſovereign was enjoined not to erect any new fortifications between Hoogly near the river Ganges.

By the general ſunnud from the ſame nabob, Meer Jaffier, directed to all the king's officers and the ſervants of the government, in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, Oriſſa, he quotes the authority of the royal firmaun, by which the Engliſh company are exempt from all duties for whatever goods their gomaſtahs may bring or carry to or from their factories, or other places, by land or by water, with a duſtuck from any of the chiefs of their ſettlements; but what the mogul never did. He declared, the Engliſh had full power to puniſh whomſoever acts contrary to their orders. No one was to wrong or oppreſs the company's gomaſtahs, though they had an unlimited power to diſtreſs and injure the natives. The officers of the king's revenues were ſtrictly enjoined to give credit to the copies of all the ſunnuds to the company, without requiring the original. The company's debtors were precluded from protection in all the provinces of Hindoſtan, which was a tacit acknowledgment of the nabob's ſubjection.

Whenever the Engliſh company deſired to ſettle a new factory, beſides theſe they were already poſſeſſed of, they were ordered to give them forty baſes of the king's land. Thus they diſpoſed of

his acknowledged property, without his majeſty's approbation.

The ſiccas and gold mohars coined at Calcutta, were ordered to paſs in the king's treaſury; his name was often made uſe of to give a ſanction to theſe privileges ſo freely beſtowed by vaſſals, who had not even the leaſt ſhadow of a delegated power from the court of Dehly.

In the pervannah from Meer Jaffier, for the currency of gold and ſilver, coined in the company's mint at Calcutta, he calls his majeſty the high and mighty, the bold and valiant commander; the greateſt of merchants, the Engliſh company, on whom may the king's favour reſt for ever.

This nabob in the pervannah, dated the 20th of December, relative to the zemindars of the lands ſouth of Calcutta, granted to the company by treaty with him, called himſelf the devoted ſervant of Allum Geer, emperor fighting for the faith; and gives notice to all the king's officers and ſervants ſettled in Bengal, the terreſtial paradiſe, that theſe zemindars has been given by treaty, to the moſt illuſtrious and moſt magnificent the Engliſh company, the glory and ornament of trade. Your duty, ſays he, is to give no cauſe of complaint to the tenants of the company, who on their part, are to govern with ſuch kindneſs, that huſbandry may receive a daily encreaſe; that all diſorders may be ſuppreſſed, drunkenneſs, and other illicit practices prevented, and the imperial tributes be ſent in due time. The ſaid company will be careful to govern, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom and uſage, without any gradual deviation, and watch for the proſperity of the people.

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The wretched inhabitants have had too fatal an experience of the contrary, by the numberleſs calamities, and enormous abaſes, which have diſtracted theſe provinces ever ſince the company became ſovereigns. The nabob concluded this piece of extravagance and flattery, by declaring to the zemindars that they were dependents of the company, and that they muſt ſubmit to ſuch treatment as they give, whether good or bad, as this was his expreſs injunction. He knew he had not a ſufficient authority to protect the natives thus transferred to tyrannical maſters, from injury and oppreſſion. By this perwannah the inhabitants of twenty-four large diſtricts were left at the mercy of the company, without any hopes of redreſs and alleviation to their miſeries.

According to the obligatory bond given by the company upon their being appointed zemindars of the lands ſouth of Calcutta, they engaged to deliver into the imperial treaſury in the proper times the due rents of the Sircar; to behave in ſuch a manner to the inhabitants and lower ſort of people, that by their good magament, theſe territories may flouriſh and increaſe; to take ſuch care of the king's highways, that the travellers and paſſengers may paſs and repaſs without fear or moleſtation: that if the effects of any perſon be plundered or ſtolen, they would endeavour to diſcover and produce the robbers and thieves, and deliver the goods if found, to the owners, and the criminals to condign puniſhment. They declared they would refrain from demanding the articles forbidden by the imperial court, the aſylum of the world.

The

The next ridiculous treaty was that between Meer Mahomed Coſſim Ally Khawn, and the Engliſh Eaſt India company, on their depoſing of Meer Jaffier, and making Meer Coſſim nabob of Bengal, dated September 27th, 1760.

By the firſt article, the nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khawn Bahadar, was permitted to continue in poſſeſſion of his dignities; all affairs were to be tranſacted in his name, though it is probable the company uſed it often in vain as they ſeldom, if ever, imported to him the tranſactions, which required the ſanction of his name. A ſuitable income, that is what the company thought proper, was to be allowed for his expences.

By the ſecond article, the capital of Bahar, commonly called Patna, and Oriſſa, were conferred by his excellency the nabob Caſſim Ally Khawn on Coſſim Khawn Bahadar; that is, the Engliſh meant to govern under his name theſe provinces; and though he was ſuppoſed to be veſted with the adminiſtration of all affairs in theſe territories, the company had the ſole management of all public tranſactions.

A firm friendſhip and union was eſtabliſhed with the nabob of Patna, his friends and enemies were to be in the ſame predicament with the Engliſh.

It was ſtipulated by the fourth article, that the Europeans and Tilinges of the Engliſh army ſhould be ready to aſſiſt the ſaid nabob in the management of all affairs, and in all affairs dependent on him; they were to exert themſelves to the utmoſt of their abilities; that is, they

were

they were to take from him all the burthens of government, as they were ſure to enjoy by theſe means all the ſweets of it.

By the fifth article, the company ſtipulated that the lands of Burdwan, Midnipore and Chittigong, ſhould be aſſigned for all charges of their army, and proviſions for the field, though they had begun hoſtilities to gratify their own avarice and ambition. The company engaged to demand no more than theſe three aſſignments, provided they received all the profits of theſe three countries; an inſtance of admirable diſintereſtedneſs and moderation.

In the ſixth article, the tenants and inhabitants of thoſe diſtricts were to be protected from injury; though their evils and grievances greatly multiplied under the Engliſh company's government, never obtained redreſs or reparation.

The tenants of the Sircar and thoſe of the Engliſh company were prohibited by the eighth article from ſettling in each other's territories, and whoſoever ſhould fly for refuge to either party was to be delivered up.

The meaſures for war or peace with the pretender to the mogul empire (the king Shah Allum) raiſing ſupplies of money, and concluding both theſe points, were to be weighed in the ſcale of reaſon; that is, as the company ſhould find their account in ſupporting or diſcountenancing his claims to the empire; whatever the company ſhould judge expedient was to be put in execution: in the mean time they contrived it ſo to have him removed from the Bengal provinces, nor ſuffered to get a footing in it, till they had conſi-

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dered the beſt uſe they could make of this fugitive prince.

In conſequence of this treaty, Caſſim ally Khawn gave the ſunnuds to the company, granting them the provinces of Burdwan, Midnipore and Chittigong, which were inclinable demands of the king of Hindoſtan. They alſo ſettled to have the ſole privilege of purchaſing half the lime produced at Skilhett for three years, to conſtruct a fort in Calcutta, that no delays might be occaſioned in finiſhing this word.

The pretence of this illegal grant was, that divers wicked people had treacherouſly ſtretched forth their hands to plunder the ſubjects and waſte the royal dominions, which the new Nabob had no right to diſpoſe of; for this ſpecious reaſon, the ſaid pergunnah was granted to the company, in part for diſburſements of their expences and the monthly maintenance of five hundred European horſe, two thouſand European foot and eight thouſand ſeapoys; which were to be entertained for the protection of the royal dominions; that is in good Engliſh to inſlave the princes who were directed to make theſe conceſſions, and oppreſs the defenceleſs ſubjects. The officers of the revenues were ordered to attend quietly and contentedly, and to pay to the perſons appointed by the Engliſh company what they ſhould exact, and implicitly ſubmit in all things to their authority. And the office of collectors of the Engliſh company was as follows: They ſhall continue the zemindars and tenants in their places; regularly [illegible] the revenues of the lands, and deliver them monthly for the payment of the expences [illegible]

company, and the pay of the above-mentioned forces, that they may be always ready, chearfully and vigorouſly to promote the affairs of the king, which was in fact, their own intereſt.

Mr. Vanſittart having been the chief inſtigator of Meer Jaffiers depoſition, was afterwards inſtrumental in re-inſtating him in the nizemut of Bengal; and Caſſim Ally Khawn who had been elected by the company, was now preſcribed and diſgraced. It was no difficult matter for the governor and council of Calcutta to preſcribe to Meer Jaffier, who was a priſoner within their walls, what terms they pleaſed, as he was glad to ſubſcribe to them previouſly to his inlargement and reſtoration. The ſubſtance of the treaty between the Engliſh company and Meer Jaffier on this extraordinary event was on their part to re-inſtate him to his honours, titles, and dignities, in the ſubahdary of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa; and to deliver up to him the effects, treaſure, jewels, &c. belonging to the depoſed Coſſim Ally Khawn, which ſhould fall into their hands. Whoever knows the rapacious ſpirit of the company's ſervants may eaſily gueſs, the little ſhare Meer Jaffier had to the treaſure they had ſeized upon.

The End of the Second Volume.

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